2

SLAVERY,

AS RECOGNIZED IN THE

MOSAIC CIVIL LAW,

RECOGNIZED ALSO, AND ALLOWED, IN THE

Abrahamic, Mosaic, and Christian Church,

BEING ONE OF A SERIES OF SABBATH EVENING DISCOURSES ON THE LAWS OF MOSES.

BY

REV. STUART ROBINSON.

WITH NOTES FROM ORTHODOX BRITISH, AND CONTINENTAL BIBLICAL CRITICS AND COMMENTATORS.

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PREFACE.

THE reason for the present publication may, perhaps, best be given in the following extracts from letters addressed to the author the day after the delivery of the discourse in the regular course of his pulpit ministrations, by a large number of intelligent Canadian gentlemen:

TORONTO, Feb. 27, 1865.

REV. STUART ROBINSON:

DEAR SIR:—The interests of religion and truth require that, in all matters affecting our faith in Divine Revelation, our opinions should be clear and definite. The subject of Human Slavery comes under this category. It is a subject which in former times very much agitated the public mind in Great Britain, and, since the commencement of the American war, has been revived with great vigor, both in England and Canada. * * *

On a subject of so much importance—a subject involving the interests of millions of our fellow-beings—it would seem necessary and right that we should have something more substantial than vague generalities, as an anchor to our faith.

In common with the bulk of the English people, we hold, and hold thoroughly, as you are aware, anti-slavery opinions; but while so doing, we believe it to be in the interests of truth that the subject should be laid open to full, free, and fair discussion.

The extraordinary research and ability displayed in the Lectures on Genesis and Exodus, delivered by you in this city during

the past two years, entitle your opinions to a careful consideration; and it is only in accordance with British justice that you should have a fair hearing. For these reasons we, whose names are here annexed, request that you will permit your views, embodied in the recent lecture on slavery, to be published.

Very respectfully yours.

TORONTO, Feb. 27, 1865.

REV. STUART ROBINSON:

DEAR SIR:—Conjointly with many others who heard the admirable discourse on slavery as recognized by the Bible, preached by you last evening, and who, with myself, would be pleased to see it in a form that would reach the mass of the people in the province and abroad, who must be interested in a just and exhaustive exposition of this subject, I take the liberty of inquiring whether you will permit its publication, and would be disposed to place the manuscript in our hands for that purpose?

I am, Rev. and Dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours, &c.

Not having before thought of such a publication, the preparation for the press, in accordance with the foregoing requests, has, of course, been made somewhat hastily under the pressure usual in such cases of public call for a discourse. The views and opinions uttered, however, have long been entertained; and the expositions of the Scriptures are in general accordance with the steadfast faith of the people of God, as uttered through their pious and learned men, in all ages up to the present. This will be apparent by a comparison of the statements of the discourse with the foot-notes which have been appended for the benefit of plain readers, who have not access to many commentators, that they may know what is the voice of the Church's interpreters. For some of these authorities, that were not within his reach, the author is indebted to

the laborious compilation of the learned and excellent Bishop Hopkins in his late work.

Though not thus coming before the public by any design or forethought of his own, it seems to the author to be somewhat providential, that he should have been called upon, just at this time, to show the people "what saith the Scriptures" concerning the relation of master and slave. The reaction from the extremes to which a plausible but fierce and reckless fanaticism had carried both the American and British people, but especially the former, seems about to set in. The sober second thought of Christian people is beginning to suspect the dogmas of the noisy, canting, infidel philanthropism whose prophets have seduced them temporarily to follow the pretended revelations of natural reason, "spiritual insight," and "universal love," instead of Jehovah's prophets whom their fathers followed.

The recent very remarkable utterances of this fanatical philanthropism from the very highest official of the American nation, since this discourse was delivered,—utterances, which, as will appear from the argument of this discourse, can hardly be characterized as less than impiously presumptuous perversions of the Word and Providence of God,—must arrest the attention of thoughtful Christian men, and lead to the inquiry whether the lights which the Churches of that country have been following to such an extreme, can possibly have been kindled at the altar-fires of inspiration. To such inquiries, it is believed, this brief yet compact and somewhat exhaustive view will be of service; especially to such as have no time or opportunity for more extended reading.

STUART ROBINSON.

TORONTO, March 6th, 1865.

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DISCOURSE.

Now these are THE JUDGMENTS which thou shalt set before them. If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve thee, &c. Ex. 21 : 1–6.

And if a man smite his servant with a rod and he die under his hand: he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding if he continue a day or two he shall not be punished: FOR HE IS HIS MONEY, Ex. 21 : 20. And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it p rish, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake, &c. Ex. 21 : 26, 27.

If the ox shall push a manservant or a maidservant; he shall give unto their master *thirty shekels of silver*, and the ox shall be stoned. Ex. 21 : 28–32.

And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant; but as an hired servant and as a sojourner shall he be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee; and then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall *return unto his own f ily, and unto the possession* OF HIS FATHERS shall he return. FOR THEY ARE MY SERVANTS, WHICH I BROUGHT OUT OF THE LAND OF EGYPT: they shall not be sold as bondmen, &c.

Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen th at are round about thee; of them SHALL YE BUY BONDMEN AND BONDMAIDS; moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, &c.

And they shall be YOUR POSSESSION. And ye shall take them AS AN INFERITANCE for your children after you, TO INHERIT THEM FOR A POSSESSION; they shall be your BONDMEN FOREVER; but

over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule over one another with rigor. Lev. 25: 39–55.

And the Lord spake unto Moses saying, Take the sum of the prey that was taken both of man and of beast. And levy a tribute unto the Lord of the men of war which went out to battle; one soul of five hundred both of THE PERSONS and of the beeves, &c.

And the persons were sixteen thousand: of which THE LORD'S TRIBUTE WAS THIRTY AND TWO PERSONS. And Moses gave the tribute which was the Lord's heave offering, unto Eleazer, the priest, as the Lord commanded Moses. Numbers 31: 25, 26, 28, 40, 41.

Then shall no stranger eat of the holy thing; a sojourner of the priest or a hired servant, shall not eat of the holy thing. But if the priest *buy any soul with his money*, he shall eat of it, and HE THAT IS BORN IN HIS HOUSE; they shall eat of his meat. Leviticus 22: 10, 11.

And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, shall surely be put to death. Ex. 21: 16 and Deut. 24: 7.

Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. Deut. 23: 15.

INTRODUCTION.

Reasons for this present discussion: the authorities in Biblical criticism upon which the argument relies are not partisan. Difference between the New England and the British anti slavery sentiment.

HAVING considered, according to our proposed plan, The Moral Law, The Constitutional Law, The Criminal Code, we come next to the consideration of the Civil Law of Moses, relating to persons and things. And here among the very first of its enactments stand the laws relating to servitude.

It is obviously impossible to present any adequate view of this code without entering upon some discussion of a feature of Moses' laws, which of late has been so much

talked about, and so little understood, viz: these slavery enactments. It would certainly be sufficient reason for desiring to instruct the Christian people fully on this subject, were there no other reason, that modern unbelievers of the Colenso school, cite the fact of the recognition of slavery by Moses as indisputable proof that his writings could not have been "given by inspiration of God."*

You will remember that while expounding the Abrahamic Covenant (Gen. 17th), I took occasion to define my position, as a preacher of the word, in regard to this vexed question of slavery; that, except as the subject comes in my way in the exposition of the Scriptures, I feel that I have little to do with it, here in a country where no

* "*The wife and her children shall be his master's*" (Ex. 21: 4). "For he is his money" (v. 21). "I shall never forget the revulsion of feeling with which a very intelligent Christian native, with whose help I was translating these words into the Zulu tongue, first heard them, as words said to be uttered by the same great and gracious Being, whom I was teaching him to trust in and adore. His whole soul revolted against the notion that the great and blessed God, the merciful Father of all mankind, would speak of a servant or maid as mere 'money,' and allow a horrible crime to go unpunished, because the victim of the brutal usage had survived a few hours. My own heart and conscience at the time fully sympathised with his. But I then clung to the notion that the main substance of the narrative was historically true. And I relieved his difficulty and my own for the present by telling him, that I supposed that such words as these were written down by Moses, and believed by him to have been divinely given to him, because the thought of them arose in his heart as he conceived by the inspiration of God, and that hence to all such laws he prefixed the formula 'Jehovah said unto Moses' without it being on that account necessary for us to suppose that they were actually spoken by the Almighty. This was, however, a very great strain upon the cord which bound me to the ordinary belief in the historical veracity of the Pentateuch; and since then that cord has snapped in twain altogether." Colenso on The Pentateuch, part 1, page 50.

such institution exists: for, having little confidence in, I do not wish to give countenance, by my example, to that sort of religion which exercises itself about the sins of other people rather than its own; and whose repentance, like the Pharisee's, having no sins of its own to mourn over, wastes its sighs over those of the publican "standing afar off." But, on the other hand, having undertaken to expound to you this Great Book, I dare not allow the fear of having sectional prejudices imputed to me, or the consideration that I must here run counter to the almost universal popular prejudices of the country so to restrain me that I should "shun to declare the whole counsel of God." (Acts 20: 17.)

Not to tax your time and patience with the too common critical disquisitions concerning the import of the Hebrew term *ebed*, and the Greek *doulos*, which our translators rendered "*servant*," because, in their day, the word "servant" still retained its primary and proper signification of "bondman," or "slave," from its Latin original, "*servus*," *—allow me to premise that, in regard

* The fact that the Latin *servus* means slave, is no mere modern deduction from etymology and classic usage, but rests upon the precise legal definition of the Justinian Code. Thus:

"Servi autem exeo appellati sunt quod imperatores captivos *vendere* et per hoc *servare*, nec occidi solent; qui etiam *mancipia* dicti sunt quod ab hostibus *manu* capiebantur," &c.

"Slaves (servi) are so called from the fact that commanders are used to *sell* their captives, and by this means to *preserve* (servare) rather than kill them. They are also said to be *mancipia*, because they were *taken by hand* (manu capta) from the enemy." Justinian Institutes, Lib. 1. Tit. 3.

Thus also Augustine:

"Itaque primos servos, quibus hoc nomen in Latina lingua inditum est, bella fecerunt. Qui enim homo ab homine superatus jure belli possit occidi, *quia servatus est, servus est appelatus:* inde et *mancipia* quia *manu capta* sunt."

"Thus, as is indicated by the name appropriated to them in

to these terms in particular, as well as the exegesis, in general, of the scripture texts relating to slavery, I but follow not only the ancient critics, but also the best and most generally accepted British and Continental biblical scholars of the new anti-slavery era, who cannot be suspected of partiality to my theories. For, somewhat to my surprise, I find that, unlike the New England anti-slavery sentiment which is obviously the natural result of the trifling with, and perversion of, the plainest language of Scripture by their partisan commentators and preachers, who have a foregone conclusion to support, the British anti-slavery sentiment seems to exist rather *in spite of* the judgment of the latest and highest results of British and Continental biblical scholarship as to the exegesis of the texts of Scripture relating to the subject of slavery.*

the Latin language, wars made the first slaves. For the man conquered by a man according to the law of war might be slain; but because he was *preserved* (servatus est) he was called *servus*—a slave. Hence also they were called *mancipia*, because (*manu capta* sunt) they were taken *by hand*."

Manifestly the logic of Mr. Barnes and that school of critics who argue that *ebed* (Hebrew), *doulos* (Greek), and *servus* (Latin), do not properly mean *slave*, because sometimes applied figuratively to free persons, would prove with equal force that the word *slave* in Virginia does not properly denote a bondman, because sometimes Virginians speak of freemen as "*slaves* to strong drink," "*slaves* to habit;" and of free ladies of the highest position as "*slaves* to fashion."

Says the learned McKnight:

"The word *doulos* properly signifies a *slave*. Our English translators, in all places where the duties of slaves are inculcated, have justly translated it *servant*, because, anciently, the Greeks and Romans had scarce any servants but slaves, and because the duties of the hired servant, during the time of his service, are the same with those of the slave. So that what the Apostle said to *the slave* was in effect said to the hired servant." McKnight on Ep. Col. 3 : 22.

* Those who have searched the Scriptures under no other guidance than the exegetical platitudes, and critical *thimble-rigging* of that American politico-evangelical school propheti-

Finding myself thus brought face to face with the subject, in the regular course of these Sabbath evening expositions, I propose to develope the principles of the Mosaic Civil Code in regard to it, and, as I did

cally described, to the very life, by the Apostle (1 Tim. 6 : 4) as "proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and *strifes of words*, whereof cometh. . . perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness," (and therefore manufacturing interpretations to suit the popular market,) will be surprised at finding such statements as follow, from cotemporary British and German scholars, all directly in the teeth of the charlatans who quibble about *ebed* and *doulos* as not signifying a bond-slave.

In the article "Laws of Moses," in the new cyclopædia of Dr. Wm. Smith, embodying the last and highest results of biblical scholarship in England, Rev. Alfred Barry presents this synopsis, under the head of "Laws Civil."

"(c) MASTER AND SLAVE. *Power of the master so far limited*, that death under actual chastisement was punishable (Ex. 21 : 20), and maiming was to give liberty *ipso facto* (ver. 26, 27). *The Hebrew slave* to be freed at sabbatical year.

"*Foreign slaves* to be held and *inherited as property* for ever (Lev. 25 : 45, 46) and *fugitive slaves* from *foreign nations* not to be given up. (Deut. 23 : 15)."

In the Art. SLAVE, from the pen of Rev. William Latham Bevan, Vicar of Hay, occur these statements:

"The institution of slavery was recognised, though not established, by the Mosaic Law, with a view to mitigate its hardships, and to secure to every man his ordinary rights.

"Repugnant as the notion of slavery is to our minds, it is difficult to see how it can be dispensed with in certain phases of society without, at all events, entailing severer evils than those which it produces.

"The Hebrew designation of the slave shows that service was the salient feature of his condition; for the term *ebed* usually applied to him is derived from a word signifying "to work," and the very same term is used in reference to offices of high trust held by free men. In short, *service* and *slavery* would have been to the ear of the Hebrew *equivalent terms*, though he fully recognized grades of servitude according as the servant was a Hebrew or a non-Hebrew, and of the latter according as he was "bought with money," "or born in the house."

The slave is described as "the *possession*" of his master,

in the case of the Moral and Constitutional Code given by Moses, to point out the relation of these principles to the preceding and succeeding teachings of the Scriptures.

We have, just at present, nothing to do with the ethical justice of slavery as a question of natural law, nor with the question whether it exists by law of nations according to the Justinian Code, or merely by "local law" according to certain American jurists; nor with the inhumanity of slavery, nor with the thousand abuses to which, in common with every other human institution, it is liable; but simply with the Bible teaching concerning slavery as a relation consistent or inconsistent with the holiness enjoined in God's word, and therefore, as affecting our faith in the Scriptures as "the inspiration of God."

apparently with special reference to the power which the latter had of disposing of him to his heirs, as he would *any other article of personal property* (Lev. 25: 45, 46); the slave is also described as his master's "money" (Ex. 21: 21), i. e., as representing a certain money value. Such expressions show that he was regarded very much in the light of a *mancipium* or CHATTEL. But on the other hand provision was made for the protection of his person."

So the German commentator, Otto Von Gerlach, on Ex. 21:

"The first division treats of laws which concern slaves and Israelites. Slavery was, in all ancient nations, a common acknowledged right, as we find the case with Abraham (Gen. 12: 5). The Mosaic law found this *relation of master and slave existing among the Israelites*," &c.

So the learned Dr. Wordsworth, Canon of Westminster, on the epistle to Philemon (1859), says of the New Testament:

"Wherever the word 'servants' occurs in the New Testament, we must understand '*slaves*'—slaves purchased with money, or taken in war, or reared from slaves in the house of their master. Phrygia, in which Colosse was situated, was the land of slaves. A Phrygian was another word for slave."

Shall we take the authority of New England partisans against all these?

SECTION I.

Slavery in the Church anterior to Moses; recognized in the covenant which forms the fundamental charter of the Church visible; the deliverance from Egypt was the deliverance of a nation of slave-holders from political bondage.

In the exposition of the prophecy of Noah, we have seen that it was a purpose of God, revealed at the very origin of the present race of men, that one portion of the race should be doomed to servitude. I did not then argue, nor do I now, that this revelation through Noah of itself justifies a man in holding slaves; any more than that the prophecy declaring that Messiah should be betrayed by one of his own household, justified Judas in betraying him. Nor will I argue now, as I might with great force, that, on the same principle that a degraded race was, in the purpose of God, doomed to servitude under its superior then, as obviously the best condition, spiritually, in which it could continue on earth, so it is easy to conceive that the providence of God now ordains even servitude under a superior race as an amelioration of the state of a people, two thirds of which are already under the cruelest bondage to the other third, and all under the bondage of a ferocious Devil-worship. All that is claimed in this argument from Noah's prophecy is that this purpose of God, revealed at the very origin of the present human race, furnishes a clue to the interpretation of the subsequent revelations of His will both in His word and in the history of His providence to this day.

Accordingly, in the subsequent expositions of that great covenant with Abraham, which constitutes the

divine charter organizing, *as a separate society*, the Church visible, toward the close of Patriarchy, which had hitherto comprised both State and Church in the family, we have seen that the choice of Jehovah for a head of that new society, the Church, was a man, the inspired inventory of whose property (Gen. 12 : 16) included *slaves* as well as money and cattle; who received *slaves* as well as money, by way of present, from Abimelech, king of Egypt (Gen. 20 : 14); whose slaves were so numerous that he could raise an army of 318 home-born slave warriors (Gen. 14 : 14); whose agent urged it as an argument to gain the consent of Rebeccah's family to her marriage with Isaac, that he was heir to immense wealth in "flocks and herds, and silver and gold, and *man-servants and maid-servants* and camels" (Gen. 24 : 35); and whose wife's bondwoman (Gen. 16 : 9), by direct order of Jehovah, recognizing her as a slave, "returned to her mistress."

And in the exposition of the book of Job, as belonging to the patriarchal era, we have seen that, among his losses of property, were *slaves* (Job 1 : 16), which in the language of that early era were distinguished from the "*hireling* that looketh for the reward of his work" (Job 3 : 19 and 7 : 2); that while Job recognized, as distinctly as the Justinian Code, or as Thomas Jefferson himself, that God "created all men equal," yet he made that the reason to himself for dealing justly and kindly with his slaves, not for setting them free (Job 31 : 13, 17).

Now what is still more important than the existence of slavery, merely, in that era, is the remarkable fact that, in the actual organization of the Church, as a separate visible society, this slaveholder Abraham and his slaves were made the constituent members of it, by direct ordinance of Jehovah. "He that is born in thy house, or bought with thy money of any stranger, must need be

circumcised. (Gen. 17: 13.) And accordingly (Gen. 17: 23), Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were *born in his house*, and all that were *bought with his money*, and circumcised them in the selfsame day, as God had said unto him."* We have seen also in the course of these

* "Query, whether the servants bought with money could be compelled to circumcision? Many affirm it from this place. For, 1. The slave is the property of his master. 2. It is a command, 'let him be circumcised,' which you nullify if you understand that it depends on the will of the slave. 3. Otherwise there would be no distinction between the hired servant and the slave, for circumcision is permitted but not commanded to a hired servant, Ex. 12: 44. Others deny. They suppose that no adult slave was obliged," &c. Poli Synopsis, Gen. 17: 12.

"*He* that is born in thy house or bought with money, must needs be circumcised." Not whether they would or no, for men were not compelled to religion, which had been a profanation of this covenant. But Abraham was to persuade them to it; and, if they consented not, to keep them no longer in his house, but to sell them to some other people. So Maimonides expounds it, in his book of circumcision, chap. 1, which is true both of servants born in the house, and bought with money; but as for the children of these slaves, they were to be circumcised whether the parents would or no; because they were THE POSSESSION OF THEIR MASTERS, NOT OF THEIR PARENTS." Bp. Patrick on Gen. 17: 13.

It may be remarked in general, as a guide to inquiries into the teachings of commentators and critics concerning the meaning of the passages in the Bible relating to slavery, that they will find the following rule hold good, almost without exception.

That all the orthodox ancient commentators, up to the era of the British and American anti-slavery movement, almost without exception, expound these passages as this discourse expounds them, and as they are expounded generally in the Southern Church.

That the more orthodox and learned commentators and critics, since the anti-slavery movement, expound these texts in the same way, with two exceptions. First—of the class of Dr. Scott and Dr. Adam Clarke, who, while they concur with the foregoing in their reading of most of the passages relating to slavery, yet in a few cases evidently strain the text, for the sake of introducing an outside homiletic remark against slavery and the slave-trade. Secondly—of the class of Dr. Jamieson, who observes a most significant silence on the whole subject.

It may, therefore, be asserted with truth that, aside from the few

expositions, that when the fulness of time is come, and, by the divine legation of Moses, this family of Abraham is to be organized fully as a visible Church, and also as a nation to whom has been assigned in the Abrahamic covenant the land of Canaan, as an inheritance; another covenant of redemption, with its sacramental seal, as the former—even the passover ordinance—is entered into with a Church composed of masters and their slaves in the land of Egypt. (Ex. 12: 43, 45.) That such were the constituent elements of the Church at this time is manifest from the very terms of the law. "This is the ordinance of the passover. There shall no stranger eat thereof. A foreigner and a hired servant (notice the distinction) shall not eat thereof. But every man's *servant, that is bought for money*, when thou hast circumcised him, shall eat thereof." Observe that this holy ordinance is given to the Church *as Church*, through its recognized leaders—"the elders"—the same who examined into Moses' call as a prophet, and accepted him (Ex. 4: 29–31); and not through "the officers," who directed their temporal concerns, and who quarrelled with him (Ex. 5: 10, 14, 19, 20, 12), as a troubler of Israel."

That the relation of master and slave was thus sanctioned in the Church of God, as such and not as a civil institution merely, even before the law given by Moses, is certainly a strong presumption to begin with, against all theories of the intrinsic sinfulness of slavery; or of its sanction only in darker and more impure ages, as a sin temporarily to be borne with, and afterward to be rejected

exceptions of orthodox men who have been tempted by partisan feeling to wrest scripture in support of a foregone conclusion, the whole orthodox biblical learning of the Church expounds the Scriptures on this subject in one way—and that in the way it is understood in the Southern Church.

with horror. And by the way, it is a curious fact for those to explain who find, in the deliverance from Egypt, the parallel of the modern anti-slavery successes, that this deliverance from Egypt was simply the deliverance from political bondage of *a nation of slaveholders*, who came forth bringing their slaves with them. The true parallel to the redemption from the bondage of Egypt would then have been found, should God, in His providence, give deliverance to a slave-holding nation of people from political subjugation, and attempted extirpation, in face of the prejudices of the whole world. It but tends to confuse and darken the minds of the people touching this entire section of the inspired history, thus absurdly to find its parallel in the personal emancipation of even thousands of slaves.*

* Besides the obvious facts in the whole history of Israel in Egypt, from which the ordinary reader must infer, on a little reflection, that they lived there as a nation; that the bondage was not a personal bondage, in which the individual Israelites were slaves to individual Egyptians, but a political bondage, in which the Egyptian power operated on the body politic through the "officers" or political representatives of the Israelites, and therefore the Hebrew institution of slavery might still exist.—I may cite in support of this view, the following passage from perhaps the ablest of all cotemporary writers on the Bible history.

"It is a gross mistake to suppose that the two millions were all the direct descendants of Jacob. When Jacob and his sons went down to Egypt, they must certainly have taken with them all their men-servants and maid-servants as well as all their cattle. We know that Abraham had 318 servants, fit for war, and trained to arms; his nomadic household must have contained, therefore, more than a thousand souls. Jacob again, who inherited all these, brought with him from Syria so many men-servants and maid-servants, and so much cattle, that when he was afraid of an attack from Esau, he divided them into two armies. With such data as these, then, we are justified in assuming that the number of those who went down with Jacob into Egypt was not limited to his sixty-six children and grandchildren, but consisted of *several thousand men-servants and maid-servants.*" Kurtz's Sac. His. vol. 2, p. 149.

Even the "*New American Cyclopedia*" suggests:

"The Jews had some form of slavery from the time of Abra-

It has been shown also in these expositions how, fifty days after this first Passover, when this Church, prepared for the great solemnity by a synod or council of its elders, stood before Mount Sinai to hear directly the very voice of her Lord and Head utter the great covenant of the Law, two of the precepts of that Law recognized the propriety of the relation of master and slave within the Church itself. In the fourth commandment masters are required to see to it that their *slaves* shall keep holy the Sabbath as well as themselves and their children. In the tenth commandment, forbidding even unlawful desires of another's property, slaves are enumerated among the representative articles of property which men shall not covet—"nor his man-servant nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbour's." *

The conclusion is thus reached, beyond all possibility

ham, with whom their historical existence commenced. Their own long enslavement in Egypt was of a *political* and personal (?) nation—and probably did not prevent them from holding slaves."

* That this is no novel construction of the law, will be seen from the following citation from old commentators:

"*Nor thy man-servant, &c.*" Thou shalt neither enjoin labor upon them nor permit them to labor. This is to be understood of those *who are not Jews*, for all who were Jews were forbidden in the preceding clauses. Poli Synopsis, Ex. 20: 10.

"*Thou shalt not covet—his man-servant nor his maid-servant.*"—In these words of the law the lordship and property of the things which it is not lawful to covet are specially established, as also SLAVERY AND THE POWER OF THE MASTER. Poli Synopsis, Ex. 20: 17.

"*Nor thy man-servant nor thy maid-servant.*"—This is to be understood, according to the Jews, not of *hired servants*, concerning whose rest from labour a man was not bound, but of such as were *born in the house, and bought with their money*, and of such man-servants as were circumcised and in all things professed to be proselytes to the Jewish religion. Dr. Gill, Com. Ex. 20: 10.

"*Thou shalt not covet*—nor his man-servant nor his maid-servant"—WHICH ARE HIS PRINCIPAL GOODS. Bishop Patrick, Com. on Ex. 10: 18.

of doubt that anterior to the civil code of Moses the relation of master and slave was recognized in the Church of God as such. If it seem to you that unnecessary pains have been taken to establish this conclusion, you have only to reflect a little on the important bearing which it must have on the interpretation of this civil code of Moses, and its no less important bearing upon the interpretation of the New Testament teaching concerning slavery. In fact, nothing has tended to obscure and confuse the views of Christians on this whole subject more than the current fashion of partial examinations of the Scriptures—the Old Testament without reference to the New, or the New Testament without reference to the Old; and of ignoring the distinction between what was ordained in the Church, as Church, and what was temporarily ordained in the Hebrew State—that peculiar civil organization of a nation for the sake of preserving and perpetuating the Church, under the Divine Legation of Moses. Out of this common blunder springs the current very fatal heresy that, somehow, the Old Testament is not "gospel" to us, nor binding on us in the same sense that the Evangelists and Apostles are; that the religion taught in the Old is not as pure and benevolent as that taught in the New Testament; from which will follow inevitably, in the popular mind, the impression that pure and true Christianity began only with the New Testament; and then, that somehow the God of the Old Testament Church is not the same as the God of the New—at least not of the same ethical attributes, or else that "all Scripture (if that term includes Moses and the prophets) is" *not* "given by inspiration of God."

SECTION II

Rationale of the Mosaic civil law. The bond-service of Hebrews not slavery in the proper sense at all. The prohibition against reducing Hebrews to slavery not founded on the ground of natural right, but of a special religious faith.

It has been shown further in the course of our expositions, that, besides mediating a church covenant of redemption, whose seal was the Passover, and the ethical covenant of the moral law, as the Church's rule of life, and also delivering an elaborate ritual of worship whereby to teach atonement for sin by blood as the means of deliverance from the penalties of the ethical law, it was the mission of Moses to organize the Hebrew patriarchy into a free, constitutional commonwealth. Hence the system of constitutional law, the general principles of which were illustrated in the discourse of last Sabbath evening; and the civil law respecting persons and things, now to be expounded. It has been shown that the civil constitution given by Moses, like every other national constitution, contains certain germinal principles, according to which its several provisions are developed; that the fundamental principle of this constitution is that Jehovah is not only the God of their religious worship, but, at the same time, the Theocratic King of the nation—His palace the Tabernacle or Temple—His throne the Ark of the Covenant overshadowed by the Cherubim—His courtiers the Priests, His vicegerent the Judge or King; and that He is really the proprietor of the soil of the nation, which He has directly interfered, by supernatural power, to obtain for the people, as an inheritance, according to the covenant with Abraham. And not only is He the owner

of the soil, but also of the persons upon it, by virtue of having delivered them from the bondage of Egypt. That, while this is the general theory of the constitution, it has also a fundamental aim and end of expediency; even to keep alive among the several families of the nation the hope of being in the line of the descent of Messiah, who is to come, and so to preserve these families distinct that in subsequent ages the line of Messiah can be traced back through all the centuries, as Matthew and Luke have done, in order to demonstrate that His descent is exactly according to the prophets.

Hence, as we have seen, the reason of that peculiar land-law forbidding the alienation of land from the family to whom it was originally given, by sale of it in fee simple; permitting only the alienation of the leasehold till the semi-centenary Jubilee, when all lands must revert to the families originally holding them; by which arrangement the records through which the land-titles are traced become at the same time official records of the family genealogies, generation after generation.

Hence also that peculiar Levirate law—directly contrary to the general law (Lev. 18: 16) forbidding marriage between near relatives—requiring a man to marry his childless brother's widow, under penalty of disgrace, that the family-name and land-titles may not become extinct. (Deut. 25: 5–10.)

Hence also the law, which stands here at the very head of the civil code—the first "of the *judgments* which thou shalt set before them." "If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve, and in the seventh shall he go out free for nothing" (Ex. 21: 1, 2); or, as repeated, more in detail, in Lev. 25: 41, "shall depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his *own family*, and unto the *possession of his fathers shall he return*."

Thus it appears that, precisely for the same reason of expediency that a Hebrew could not alienate the fee simple of his land, but only the leasehold till the semi-centenary Jubilee, he could not alienate himself beyond the septennial Jubilee. There must be a reconnection between the families and their lands. And, what is conclusive on this point, is the further fact that precisely the same reason of right is assigned in the law itself for both these provisions of the law. As to the first, the reason assigned is: "The land shall not be sold forever (*i. e.*, in fee simple). For THE LAND IS MINE, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (and being mere tenants can pass no title to the fee simple). (Lev. 25: 23.) As to the second, the reason assigned is: "Thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bondservant, but as a hired servant; FOR THEY ARE MY SERVANTS, which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondsmen" (Lev. 25: 39, 42, and also v. 55). No Israelite could alienate his title to himself, then, for the same reason that he could not alienate his title to his land. Neither are his own, but Jehovah's; and, however poor he may be, he is yet one of a singular spiritual aristocracy, or rather of a royal line, from which Messiah the King is to descend, and, therefore, shall not, by reason of poverty and oppression, be allowed to have his name and household become extinct. Therefore, after temporary servitude he shall "return unto his family and *the possession of his fathers*"—not merely be free.

It is evidence of the confusion of ideas that is current touching the simplest principles and plainest provisions of the Mosaic law, that, in the minds of so many, the practical end and design of the septennial and semi-centenary Jubilees are confounded together. The common sense of practical life, aided by a little reflection, would suggest that, on the one hand, a septennial restoration of lands to

the families would operate practically an abolition of all debts, or at least of all real estate guarantee for debt: while, on the other hand, a personal servitude that might continue forty-nine years, and then be terminated, without consent of either master or servant, would operate the grossest cruelty in turning off servants, as old age approached, to poverty and starvation. Hence the singular absurdity of the notion, devised to bolster up a foregone anti-slavery conclusion, that all slavery must terminate every semi-centenary Jubilee. And aside from the absurdity of the thing from the nature of the case, the very language of the Jubilee law itself limits the right of going free at the Jubilee to those who have "the families and possessions of their fathers" given in the original distribution of the lands, to which they may "return." Hence this provision could not apply to slaves bought from foreign nations and their descendants.

It is this peculiar feature of the Mosaic code in reference to Hebrew servitude which the modern partisan expounders have seized upon as a proof that this law did not tolerate perpetual bondage. Any and every such construction of the law utterly ignores not only the fundamental design of the Hebrew constitution, but also the expressly-assigned reasons for the provision itself; "*For* they are My *servants.*" Plainly there was no such thing as slavery in our modern sense of it at all, in the servitude of a Hebrew, and could not be without utter apostasy from the Hebrew faith in the Messiah. Hence the indignant rebuke and threatening of the prophets in subsequent ages against the people for allowing the Jubilee law to become obsolete, as indicating utter apostasy from the faith, and endangering the very argument for establishing that faith. The anti-slavery pulpi orators are used to seize upon these denunciations of the prophets, such as Jeremiah 34: 8–20, as

denunciations of the principle of slavery, and requiring the proclaiming of a general emancipation: whereas the very language of the prophet shows conclusively that he is not denouncing slavery, in the strict sense, at all, but "*the men that have transgressed My covenant*," specifically; and though using the expression, "proclaiming liberty every man unto his neighbor," the prophet defines, with even legal precision, the limit within which the indictment is to be understood—"That every man should let his man-servant, and every man his maid-servant, *being a Hebrew or a Hebrewess*, go free; that none should serve himself of them, to wit, *of a Jew*, his brother" (Jerem. 34: 9); thus referring directly to the peculiar provision of Moses' law, now under consideration, and threatening the wrath of God, as Moses also did, upon the nation for the specific breach of that law. And if the language of the prophet left any room for doubt concerning the specific offence charged by Jeremiah, as the reason for subjecting the whole nation to bondage, the recorded history of the fulfilment of this very prophecy sets the matter at rest, that it was the violation of the specific Jubilee law.

"And them that escaped from the sword carried he away captive to Babylon; where *they were servants* to him and his sons, until the reign of the kingdom of Persia: To fulfil the word of the Lord *by the mouth of Jeremiah until the land had enjoyed her Sabbaths;* for as long as she lay desolate she kept Sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years." (2 Chron. 36: 20, 21).*

* It was, probably, the hazy vision suggested to his imagination by some reckless abolition pulpit performer, haranguing from this passage in Jeremiah, or that in Isaiah 58: 6, and still floating before him, that led President Lincoln, in his Inaugural, March 4, 1865, to utter that blasphemous sentence, "Yet if God wills that it (the war) continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and

Nothing can be plainer, therefore, than that these denunciations and threatenings of Jeremiah were not levelled at all at the principle of slavery, but at a specific transgression of a specific law of Moses' civil and ecclesiastical

until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn by the sword: *as was said three thousand years ago*, so still it must be said that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

Now, to say nothing of the fact that President Lincoln has already drawn with the sword, at least a pint of blood for every "drop" drawn with the lash since slavery existed in the Southern States, and spent of the nation's wealth, at least threefold the amount that any intelligent jury would ever award as back pay for all the Negro labor "unrequited" by food, clothing, and protection that has been done in the Southern States—of which this is not the place to speak—if Mr. Lincoln will insist in expounding the purposes, prophecies, and providences of God, in his public utterances, he should, at least, examine so profound a matter with a little more care than Abolition orators usually bestow on any teachings of the Bible.

Without troubling himself with profound research among the biblical critics, Mr. Lincoln could have found in any one of ten thousand cabins in the country, Scott's, or Clarke's, or Henry's, or Jenk's Comprehensive Commentaries—both of the former earnest British Abolitionists, who would have assured him that these prophecies, "three thousand years ago," had no reference to slavery in the sense of the permanent bondage legalized by Moses, at all, nor to the blood drawn by the slave-lash; but to the violation of the jubilee rights of Jehovah's own servants, the free-born Israelites, as shown in the discourse above.

Dr. Adam Clarke would have told him, that the proper paraphrase of Jeremiah 34: 8, is—"They had agreed to manumit them at the end of the seventh year, but recalled the engagement." Therefore, "You promised to give liberty to your enslaved *brethren*. I was pleased and bound the sword in its sheath. You broke your promise and brought them again into bondage. I gave liberty to the sword," &c.

Scott would have told him, in Jer. 34: 8, "The law of liberating *Hebrew* slaves at the end of seven years was *an express condition of the National Covenant*. The seventh year was the year of release." (Deut. 15: 9.)

Even Dr. Jenk's (Boston) Comprehensive Commentary would have told him on the same place:—

"The law of God was very express that those *of their own*

code. And with just as much propriety might these preachers found upon Ezekiel's denunciations (Ezek. 18: 12), against those who "did not restore the pledge," and who "have given forth upon usury and taken increase"—in violation of specific laws of Moses—arguments and denunciations against the current practice of holding "collaterals," or other pledge for the payment of debts; or the current usage among all commercial peoples of requiring a percentage of interest on money loaned.

The evident conclusion from this review of the whole subject is, that the temporary servitude of the Hebrew under a master has, properly speaking, no relation to the question of slavery at all; nor did the prohibition of slavery to a Hebrew rest upon the ground of its violation of natural right, but upon the ground of its inconsistency with a specific peculiarity of the Hebrew faith. It is plainly in reference to this religious faith also, and not to foreign slaves, that the enactment is made of death to him that stealeth a man, etc. (Deut. 24: 7; and Ex. 21: 16).*

nation should not be held in servitude above seven years. Whereas those of other nations, taken in war or bought with money, might be *held in perpetual slavery, they and theirs.*"

Matthew Henry would have told him that Isaiah 58: 6, refers to this same breach of the covenant, concerning temporary Hebrew servants—that it means, "Ye exact all your labors from your servants, and will neither release them according to law," &c.—(Jer. 34: 8–9.)

No right-minded man can refrain from shuddering at the thought of such ethics, and such notions of God's Word and Providence, in such a position, at such a time.

* "He that stealeth a man," &c.—A land so completely a thoroughfare for merchants as Canaan and Arabia Petrea was, must have offered peculiar facilities for this crime. He who in this "manner not only deprived AN ISRAELITE of his liberty, but also *sold him to a heathen people*, was certainly a criminal worthy of death." (Otto Von Gerlach, on EX. 20: 16.)

"This was a very heinous offence; for, first, it was robbing

SECTION III.

A system of perpetual slavery was recognized and regulated by the Mosaic civil code substantially the same with the system in the American Southern States: nor was such slavery deemed inconsistent with the holiness symbolized in the Ritual law of Moses.

ALTOGETHER, aside from the law of temporary servitude to the Hebrew, there was in the civil code of Moses the recognition of a system of perpetual servitude, just as clearly and distinctly, though in less detail, as in the laws of Virginia, or Kentucky, or South Carolina. And by precisely the same logical and critical process by which it is proved that the civil laws of Moses did not recognize and regulate perpetual servitude, any one may undertake to *prove, just as clearly, that slavery never existed by law in Virginia or South Carolina.*

For, in addition to all that has been shown to the effect that Moses found perpetual slavery already established among the Hebrews, just as certainly as the statesmen who made the State constitutions of Virginia and South Carolina after the American Revolution found slavery already established among the people of those States, it is scarcely conceivable how language could more explicitly set forth the idea of permanent servitude, as a part of the social system in the Hebrew commonwealth. "Both thy bond-

the public of one of its members; second, it was taking away a man's liberty, the liberty of *a free-born Israelite;* third, it was driving a man out from the inheritance of the land, and bidding him go serve other gods.—(Henry, Com., Deut. 24: 7.)

"To steal away a free man *or an Hebrew*, and to reduce him to the state of servitude, was death. The Jews do not think that the stealing of a man of any other nation deserves death, but only the theft of a free Hebrew."—(Cruden, Con. on "Steal.")

men and thy bondmaids shall be of the heathen which are round about you: of them shall ye BUY BONDMEN and bondmaids. And they shall be your POSSESSION (property), and ye shall take them as AN INHERITANCE for your children after you to INHERIT THEM FOR A POSSESSION; they shall be your bondmen forever."

"For he (the slave) is his money." And his appointed valuation is fixed: "If the ox shall push a man-servant: he (the owner) shall give their master *thirty shekels of silver.*" "If his master have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons and daughters: *the wife and her children shall be her master's*, and he shall go out by himself."

Can any language be found in the slave code of Virginia or South Carolina more clearly and distinctly setting forth the right of a master in his slave as property than this? or language setting forth more clearly the principle that the children shall follow the condition of the mother than this? or that the rights of the master may, in certain cases, contravene and supersede the slaves' family rights, and cause separation of families? *

It will be found, furthermore, in studying the principles of this slave-code, that almost all its fundamental

* That the interpretation put upon these passages in the discourse is the almost universal interpretation of accredited commentators, might readily be shown by actual citations from all commentaries of established repute in the Church. But the very brief space that can be allotted here to such citations, permits only representative specimens, thus:—

HENRY—"But the Jews might purchase bondmen of the heathen nations that were round about them, and might claim a dominion over them, and entail them upon their families as an inheritance; for the year of jubilee should give no discharge to them."—(Hen., Com., Levit. 25: 39.)

BP. PATRICK—"*Thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant.*" "As a slave which they bought of other nations or took in wars; over whom they had an absolute dominion (as they had over their goods and cattle), and might bequeath them and their

points are precisely the same with the slave-codes of the American Southern States, however the latter may, in the detailed application of these principles, be found differing from the former; and however much ignorance and false-

children to their sons and posterity forever (v. 45–6); or sell them and bond their children at pleasure."—Pat., Com., Levit. 25: 39.)

"*If a man smite his servant.*" "A slave who was not an Israelite but a Gentile."

"For his smiting with a *rod*, not with a *sword*, was a sign that he intended only to correct him, but not to kill him. And, besides, no man could be thought to be willing *to lose his own goods, as such* servants were."—(Pat., Com., Ex. 21: 20.)

"*He is his money.*" His death was a loss to his master, who, therefore, might well be judged not to have any intention to kill him, and was sufficiently punished by losing the benefit of his services.—Pat., Com., Ex. 21: 21.)

COMP. COM.—"The Israelites might purchase bondmen of the heathen nations around them (*except of the seven nations who were to be destroyed*), and might claim a dominion over them, and entail them on their families as an inheritance, for the year of Jubilee should give no discharge to them. Thus *negroes only* are used as slaves, how much to the credit of Christianity I shall not say.—(Com. on Lev. 25: 39–55.)

GILL—"And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children," &c. Which they might leave them at their death to inherit, as they did their estates and lands. "*To inherit them for a possession*," as their property, as anything else that was bequeathed to them, as NEGROES NOW ARE in our plantations abroad. "They shall be your bondmen forever." "And *not be released* at the Year of Jubilee, nor before, nor after," &c.—(Gill's Com., Lev. 25: 45–6.)

And with Gill's definition of "possession" here agrees exactly Bishop Patrick's—"They *shall be your possession*."—"Become your proper goods, and continue with you as your lands do."

"They might have the same power and dominion over them *that they had over their lands, goods, or cattle.*"

"Bondmen forever. Not have benefit of the Year of Jubilee, but be your slaves as long as they live."

"*An inheritance for your children after you.*" To whom they might bequeath the very bodies of them and their children.—(Pat. on Lev. 25: 46.)

Even the Encyclopædia Britannica says, in discussing Hebrew slavery:—

"It is, indeed, evident, from numberless passages of Scripture,

hood have caricatured them. And indeed, in some material points the slave-code of the American Southern States is even more restrictive of the principles of slavery and the power of the master than either the Mosaic code or the Roman code of Justinian, which develops the law of slavery as it existed in the time of the Apostles and subsequently.

1. The Mosaic laws involve the principle that beside being a person, the slave is also a *chattel*, property—"possession"—"inheritance"—"money." Thus, "for he (the slave) is his 'money,'" is assigned as the reason why the master, unintentionally, by lawful chastisement, causing his death, shall not suffer punishment (Ex. 21 : 21). In the enumeration of the tenth commandment, as Bishop Patrick suggests, the slave seems to be represented as the master's "principal goods" next to his realty. The value of the slave is fixed at "thirty shekels of silver," in determining the compensation for his loss by the carelessness of a neighbor (Ex. 21 : 32). The slave passed as a part of the inheritance to a man's children (Lev. 25 : 45), and became the children's property, "possession." In no code of the American Southern States can stronger and clearer lan-

that the domestics, which our translators call *servants*, were, in their day, universally considered as the most *valuable part of their master's property*, and classed with his flocks and herds."

"That the practice of buying and selling servants, thus early begun amongst the Patriarchs, descended to their posterity, is known *to every attentive reader of the Bible.* It was *expressly authorized by the* Jewish law, in which are many directions how such servants were to be treated."

If these facts are, as they are presumed to be, well known to "every attentive reader of the Bible," how long will professed ministers of the Gospel retain the public confidence for themselves and religion, who, "doting about strifes of words," attempt the charlatanry of persuading the masses of the people that the language of the Bible does not mean what the most trusted scholarship and the common sense of men unite in saying it does mean?

guage be found setting forth the notion that slaves are at the same time persons and property. Nor is it easy to conceive how language could more clearly convey that idea.

2. The Mosaic law recognized the rights of the master as paramount, even when coming in conflict with the rights of the husband and father of a slave-wife and children. "He shall go out by himself, the wife and her children shall be her master's." And the children of the slave-mother followed the condition of the mother. Thus Solomon, describing his efforts after happiness from the acquisition of vast possessions, says, "I got me servants and maidens, *and had servants born in my house:* also I had great possessions of great and small cattle" (Eccl. 2 : 7).

3. On the other hand, the Mosaic code protected the slave as a *person*, just as the codes of all Southern States do. The wilful murder of a slave, under both the ancient and the modern codes, was punished just as any other murder (Lev. 24 : 17). "He that killeth any man shall surely be put to death. So (Ex. 21 : 20), "If he die under his hand he shall surely be punished" (even when smitten with a rod in the ordinary mode of chastisement). In the code of Moses is to be found, indeed, an incidental provision which is found neither in the Justinian nor the American code. In order to protect the slave against cruel usage, Moses' law enacted that, in case of any cruelty to a slave, betokening more than ordinary chastisement with the rod —as the loss of an eye or a tooth—the slave shall go free. In the American, as in the Justinian code, the provision is that in such case the slave shall be taken from the cruel master and sold to one who is more merciful. Cruelty to his slaves by a master is, in the American code, an indictable offence.

4. In accordance with the general provisions of the

Mosaic code for the kind treatment of strangers (Ex. 22: 21, and Lev. 19: 33, 34) the law of Moses forbade the delivering up of a *foreign* slave to his master (Deut. 23: 15, 16); both the general and the specific provision, being founded upon the principle that the foreigner, free or slave, should be encouraged to take refuge among the worshippers of the true God in order to redeem him from heathenism. The use which the modern partisan expounders of God's Word make of this and similar texts as authority for their refusal to deliver up a fugitive slave to his Southern master fails in two essential particulars: first, in assuming that the religion of the Northern States is the direct revelation of Jehovah; and secondly, in assuming that the religion of the Southern States is undoubtedly heathenism. Any honest student of Scripture must perceive at once the ethical inconsistency of applying this enactment of the Mosaic code to the case of a slave escaping from one tribe (or State) of the commonwealth of Israel to the other.*

* "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped." The Hebrew doctors understand this of a servant of another nation who was become a Jew; while they understand it also of a servant that fled from his master out of any of the countries of the Gentiles into the land of Israel, which was to be a safe refuge to him. Pat., Com. Deut. 23: 15.

"The land of Israel is here made a sanctuary or city of refuge for servants that were wronged by their masters, and fled thither for shelter from the neighboring nations."

"Supposing him willing to embrace their religion, they must give him all the encouragement that might be to settle among them. Thus would he soon find a comfortable difference between the land of Israel and all other lands, and would choose it to be his rest forever." Henry, Com. Deut. 23: 15.

"The Jewish writers generally understand it of the servants of idolaters fleeing for the sake of religion." Gill, Com. Deut. 23: 15.

"That is, the servant, not of a Hebrew, but of an alien and foreigner. Bishop Kidder.

5. That this holding of slaves under the civil law was not deemed inconsistent with the highest obligations of religion and the holiness symbolized in the ritual law, is manifest from the fact, that when thirty-two thousand captive slaves were taken with other spoils from Midian (Num. 31 : 28), Moses, by special command of Jehovah, took three hundred and fifty-two of the "persons," and turned them over to Eliezer, the High Priest, as the "*Lord's tribute;*" * and from the further fact that the priests were assumed to be slaveholders, as appears from Lev. 22 : 10, 11, where it is said of the priests' portion of the sacrificial victim, "No stranger shall eat of the holy thing : a sojourner of the priest, or an hired servant, shall not eat of the holy thing. But if the priest *buy any soul with his money*, he shall eat of it, and he that is *born in his house:* they shall eat of his meat."

6. It may be added, as a proof of the distinction kept up between the personal rights of the freeborn and the slave, that while a violation of the seventh commandment with "a betrothed damsel that is a virgin" was punishable with death by stoning (Deut. 22 : 23–27), yet in case

* "How is it possible"—Colenso asks, Pent. part 1, page 210—"How is it possible to quote the Bible as in any way condemning slavery when we read here (Num. 31 : 40) of Jehovah's tribute of slaves, thirty-two persons?"

The question has a tremendous significancy to that whole class of thinkers who have made up their minds, under the teachings of a political and philanthropistic naturalism, that the Bible must come to them rather than they come to the Bible to settle questions of ethics. Under the same sort of training in religion that Colenso's "very intelligent native African" had received beforehand, it is not surprising that he and all such should have been shocked at reading, "He is his money." But should not "intelligent" Britons and Americans excel the "intelligent" native enough in sense, to perceive whither they are tending, at hearing such a question by way of proving the want of inspiration in Moses, shouted back to them from a British bishop who has travelled along the same road and simply got in advance of them?

of a like crime with "a woman that is a bondmaid, betrothed to an husband, and, not at all redeemed, nor *freedom given to her:* she shall be scourged. They shall not be put to death *because* she was not free" (Levit. 19: 20, 21).

Those who have any acquaintance with the slave-laws of the American Southern States, from practical observation rather than from the singular caricatures of them in the credulous or wilful falsehoods of cotemporary fanaticism, will at once recognize in these provisions of the Mosaic law the same fundamental provisions which characterize the slave-codes of the Southern States.

SECTION IV.

This system of perpetual slavery continued to exist in the Mosaic Church, under the Mosaic civil law, till the close of the Old Testament inspiration; and during the interval between the close of the Old and the opening of the New Testament, vast numbers of Jews as well as of other peoples had been sold into slavery in all parts of the Roman Empire.

In the subsequent history of the outworking of the Mosaic civil law and constitutional system, there are few allusions to the existence of slavery; just as, in like manner, there are few allusions to the law of the Sabbath, and few even to the ritual of the tabernacle, or of the sacred festivals. Still there are allusions sufficient to show that slavery continued to exist among them, and that the provisions of the slave-code continued in use. Thus we have the illustration of the popular contempt for runaway

slaves in the insult of the churlish Nabal offered to David's guerilla scouts, when they applied in David's name for a contribution to his commissary stores (1 Sam. 25 : 10), "Who is David? And who is the son of Jesse? There be *many servants* (slaves) *now-a-days, that break away, every man from his master.*" So we find David saying to the Egyptian (1 Sam. 30 : 13, 15), To *whom belongest thou?* and swearing that he will "neither kill him, nor deliver him into the hands of his master," as he might lawfully swear in accordance with the law of Moses. In 1 Kings 2 : 39, 40, we have the instance of Shimei, who had cursed David, paroled within the limits of the city by Solomon, but breaking his parole, and losing his life in consequence of hearing that his runaway slaves were at Gath, and in thoughtless eagerness hasting off to recover his property.

So from Solomon's account of himself, getting servants and maidens, and having servants (slaves) born in the "house" (Ecclesiastes 2 : 7), we trace the existence of slavery in Israel to the later times of the commonwealth. From the prophecy of Ezekiel against Tyre, in the immediate vicinity of Israel, we gather that the trade in slaves was actively carried on till his age; for, in his splendid recital of the universal commerce of Tyre, he describes the trade "with Javan Tubal and Mesheck, who traded the *persons of men* and vessels of brass in thy market" (Ezek. 27 : 13); and this mentioned in the same matter-of-course manner in which he alludes to all other commerce.

During the captivity of the Jews in Babylon and Assyria, as before during their bondage in Egypt, we know that they were still slaveholders; for, as we see from the rolls of those who returned to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple under Ezra, the slaves among the returned captives were in the proportion of one to six of the free population (Ezra 2 : 64, 65, and Nehem. 7 : 66). "The whole congre-

gation was forty-two thousand, and three hundred and threescore, besides their servants (slaves) and their maids, of whom there were seven thousand three hundred and thirty and seven." And, by the way, it is interesting to observe, from this record in Ezra, how the fundamental purpose of the Mosaic constitution had been accomplished, in preserving the family genealogies distinct for near one thousand years (Ez. 2 : 58, 59 and 61–63); it is in confirmation of the correctness of the reason already assigned why a Hebrew, after seven years' servitude, must go back "to the possession of his fathers."

Having thus traced the existence of slavery under the Mosaic constitution down to the era of the restoration and the close of the Old Testament history, it may be well, before proceeding to the New Testament history, to refer to the important fact, predicted by Joel and other prophets, and verified as history by the Maccabees and Josephus, that vast numbers of Jews, anterior to the advent of Christ, had been sold as slaves throughout the Grecian and Roman Empires. For, unlike the Babylonish and Assyrian conquerors of Israel, who deported the entire people of countries conquered by them, freemen and slaves alike, and filled their places by people of other countries, the Grecian, and especially the Roman commanders, took captive and sold into personal slavery the peoples whose countries they overran. Thus, for instance, we find Joel charging it against Tyre and Sidon prophetically. "The children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them from their border" (Joel 3 : 6). Accordingly, we have the account, in the history of the Maccabees, of the boastful style of the Grecian warfare, that when Antiochus sent his mighty army into Judea, "The merchants of the country hearing the fame of them, took silver and gold very much, with

servants, and came into the camp to *buy the children of Israel for* slaves" (1 Macc. 3 : 41). And how "Nicanor undertook to make so much money of the captive Jews as should pay the tribute of two thousand talents, which the king was to pay to the Romans. Wherefore immediately he sent to the cities upon the sea-coast (Tyre, the great slave-trader, being of course one), proclaiming a sale of the captive Jews, and promising that they should have fourscore and ten bodies for one talent" (2 Macc. 8 : 10, 11). But especially, as appears from Josephus' "Jewish War," B. 6, chap. 9, § 3, were vast multitudes of Jews sold into slavery throughout the empire by the Romans.

SECTION V.

During the personal ministry of Christ, though slavery in fact, as part of the social order, and the question of slavery, *in thesi*, in the interpretation of the law of Moses, must have been forced upon His attention; yet He did not repeal the permission of slavery as He repealed the permission of divorce and polygamy. Nor did He claim to teach a purer ethics than Moses. When actual cases of slaveholding came before Him, He not only did not rebuke the relation, but blessed both master and slave; and in His preaching referred without rebuke to the relation of master and slave.

THERE cannot be the least doubt, therefore, that at the appearance of Jesus Christ as a minister of the Church, slavery existed throughout the civilized world. Indeed, classical scholars compute the number of slaves then in the Roman Empire at sixty millions. The historian Gibbon, after describing the condition and character of slaves in

the empire, thus sums up the conclusion as to their numbers: "After weighing with attention every circumstance which could influence the balance, it seems probable that there existed in the time of the Emperor Claudius, about one hundred and twenty millions of persons. *The slaves were at least equal* in number to the free inhabitants of Rome." (Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vol. i. p. 53.) It should be borne in mind, too, that, while generally they were degraded barbarians, many of the slaves were Jews, as well as of other civilized nations; many of them, therefore, men of culture and great skill in the higher arts. For, according to Gibbon, "almost every profession, either liberal or mechanical, could be found in the house of an opulent senator." It must be borne in mind, moreover, that among the communities in which Jesus and His Apostles preached the gospel, the civil law of Moses had been superseded by the slavery laws of the Roman Empire, which, though at that era modified and mollified in a great degree, were still less restrictive of the rights of the master than either the Mosaic code or the modern American code.* And bearing in mind how fanatically the Jews, in their subjection, still clung to the Mosaic code, turning even its

* It may assist materially the ordinary reader of the Bible, and give definiteness to his views of the teachings of Prophets and Apostles concerning slavery, as a practical question, to present, in one summary view, the parallels and the contrasts between the three codes—of Moses, which exhibit the law of slavery in the Old Testament Era; of Justinian, which exhibit the slavery law under which the Saviour and his Apostles preached; and of the American Southern States, under which the question is, at this day, discussed. Nothing more can be attempted here than a comparison of the three codes, in reference to three germinal points—viz., the principle of the code, its theory of its own ethical right, and its limitations of the master's rights; both in their agreements and differences. The foolish clamors and falsehoods concerning the details and abuses of the American code will be noticed elsewhere. Not having at hand the laws of any of the Southern States, I can-

civil enactments into ethical laws, and regarding it as apostasy from the faith that one should, by paying tribute, recognize Cæsar's rule, over the kingdom of which Jehovah was Theocratic King, it is utterly inconceivable that the

not refer specifically to the statute, but state the principles of the American codes, simply as current notorious fact.

POINTS OF AGREEMENT.

1. All three of these codes contemplate the slave as both a *person* and a *property*.—(Ex. 20: 20—Just. Inst. Lib. 1: Tit. 3.)

2. All three recognize the property rights of the master, as superseding and contravening the *personal* right of the slave to a permanent marriage relation, and the control of his children, by permitting, in certain cases, the separation of the slave from his wife, and ordaining, in all cases, the children of a slave woman to be her master's property.—(Ex. 20: 4—Just. Inst. Lib. 1: Tit. 3.)

3. All three recognize the *personal* rights of the slave, to the extent of protecting him against maiming or loss of life, by the cruelty of the master.—(Ex. 21: 26-7—Just. Inst. Lib. 1: Tit. 4.)

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE.

The Mosaic code granted the right to enslave men of all nations —except Hebrew fellow-citizens—who could be held only temporarily. (Lev. 25.)

The Justinian code recognized the right to enslave people of all nations, according to ancient Roman law (but was amended afterwards by Leo, so as to forbid the enslaving, even by his own consent, a free citizen of the empire)—(Just. Inst. Lib. 1: Tit. 3.)

The American code forbids the enslaving of any people, except of the African race only.

2. In the theory of the Mosaic code the ethical right of enslaving, as against the admitted natural equality of men before God, rests for its sanction upon the will of Jehovah, directly revealed through Noah and Abraham and Moses.

In the theory of the Justinian code—heathen in its origin—the ethical right of enslaving—which is expressly declared to be contrary to the law of nature—rests for its sanction upon the "Law of Nations," as deduced from the usages of war.—(Just. Inst. Lib. 1: Tit. 3.)

In the theory of the American code—Christian in its origin—the ethical right of enslaving—admitted, in the sense of the Justinian code to be contrary to natural right—rests upon the sanction of the will of God, as revealed in his Word and Providence, con-

question of slavery should not have become a matter of earnest discussion. Certain it is that, precisely for the same reason that they raised the question of tribute to Cæsar in a country of which Jehovah had said "The land is Mine," and, therefore, cannot be alienated by My tenants, they must also raise the question at least of the lawfulness of enslaving Jews, of whom Jehovah had said, "They shall not be sold as bondsmen. For they are My servants" (slaves).

Now, during the brief era of Christ's personal ministry, confined to the "lost sheep of the House of Israel," with the Mosaic moral and ritual codes still in full force as their ethical and ritual rule of faith, but with the authority of his civil and political code set aside by the Roman law—how did He treat this question? We have but a few inci-

cerning a degraded race, and also upon the "local law" of the country.

3. The Mosaic law protected the *personal* rights of the slave by ordaining the freedom of the slave, as the penalty to the master, for maiming, by cruel usage; and treated the murder of a slave as any other murder.—(Ex. 21: 20; and Lev. 24: 17.)

The Justinian code, though the original Roman law, gave no protection, even of life, against the master; yet, by the amendment of Antonine, punished the murder of one's slave as the murder of another man's slave, and, in case of cruelty, ordered the slave to be sold to another master.—(Just. Inst. Lib. 1: Tit. 5.)

The American code agrees with the Mosaic in protecting the personal right of a slave to life, by punishing the murder of a slave as any other murder; and, with the Justinian code, in making cruelty to a slave an indictable offence, and providing for the sale of the slave, cruelly used, to another master.

It may be added to this last statement, however, that a still more powerful protection of the slave than formal enactments of law, in the Southern States, is the great unwritten law of public opinion. Notoriously, the surest provocative of "Lynch law" against a master, is cruel usage of his slaves; and it is equally notorious, that the slave suing for his freedom, with a reasonably fair case, can always command the highest legal counsel of the locality. Under all codes, the interest of the master is the best protection.

dental facts recorded relating to the subject; but these are very significant.*

A case of slavery came before Him in one of the first recorded of his miracles. A Roman centurion appeals to Him to save the life of a highly-valued *slave* (Matt. 8: 6, and Luke 7: 2). There can be no doubt that he was a *slave* in the fullest sense, for his master calls him "*pais mou*," "my boy," precisely the term applied to full-grown slave men in the Southern States at this day, so greatly to the horror of anti-slavery sentimentalism; while, on the other hand, Luke terms him "*doulos*," "his slave." So far from rebuking the master as a "manstealer," "thief," or by any other epithet of the anti-slavery vocabulary, and demanding his instant emancipation, Jesus heals the slave, and at the same time pronounces his master a hero of the faith beyond any yet met with in Israel.†

In the Saviour's teachings He manifestly uses the language of a slaveholding people, alluding to the existence of such a relation as master and slave as a fact familiar to his hearers. And, more particularly, in His parables does

* As the subject and structure of the discourse admits of a discussion of slavery in the New Testament only incidentally, and, therefore, briefly, the author feels the more free to fill up the outline of the argument of the text by means of fuller citations of authorities in the notes, and additional suggestions in the form of notes, in order to present, as completely as the space will admit, the whole of the Bible argument.

† That the reference to, and argument from the case of the centurion, is not overstrained in aid of the author's view, will be apparent from its accordance with the latest, and, perhaps, highest authorities in Biblical criticism. Thus, Lange, on this place (v. 6):

"My servant," *o pais mou*.—The SLAVE, or domestic servant, as distinguished from the common soldier, who was only officially subject to him and not a son. From the more detailed narrative in Luke, we learn that he was held in special esteem by his master, which, indeed, may be gathered from this passage also."—(Lange, Com. Matt. 8: 6.

He borrow for the illustration of divine truth, as a thing perfectly familiar to the people, the doings and sayings of masters and slaves. Take, for instance—for time would fail to refer to more—the parable of the talents (Matt. 25 : 14–30), in which some of the peculiar features of Roman slavery are brought into view.* And yet in connection with no one of all these allusions is a single word uttered indicative of a condemnation of the system.

Here, however, we are met with some of those vague generalities in which modern philanthropism so commonly indulges. It is said that though Jesus Christ pronounced no specific rebuke of the relation of master and slave, yet He uttered the great law of Love—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, etc., *and thy neighbor as thyself.*" It is a singular instance of how the people, with the Bible in their hands, may yet know nothing of the Bible, that this passage is continually quoted as if an original saying of Jesus, and intended to supersede the ancient ethical law of the church by a "higher law" of the gospel. Whereas it must be obvious to any reader, with a reference Bible in his hand, that Jesus is here but quot-

* It is presumed that the following authorities for this view will hardly be disputed:—

"The foolish virgins failed for thinking their part *too easy;* here the wicked servant fails from thinking his *too hard.* The Parable is still concerned with Christians ('*tous idious doulous*'), and not the world at large. We *must remember the relation of master and slave,* in order to understand his delivering to them his property and punishing them for not fructifying with it."—(Alford, as cited by Dr. Schaff, in Lange's Com. on Matt. 25 : 15–30.)

"*Who called his own servants and delivered unto them his goods.*" "Between MASTERS AND SLAVES this was not uncommon in ancient times. Christ's 'servants' here, mean all who, by their Christian profession, stand in the relation to him of entire subjection. *As all that slaves have belong to their master,* so Christ has a claim to everything that belongs to his people.—(Rev. David Brown, D. D., Prof. of Theol. at Aberdeen, Scotland, Com. on Matt. 25 : 15.)

ing, against hypocritical formalists, the sum of duty to God *thrice repeated in the law of Moses* (Deut. 6 : 5 and 10 : 12 and 30 : 6); and the sum of duty to man precisely as laid down in the law of Moses (Lev. 19 : 18). Nay, Jesus expressly tells them that the law and the prophets teach this great truth. And, what is more, it appears that even the lawyers themselves were in the habit of repeating that summary as the substance of Moses' law. For the lawyer in Luke 10 : 25, when asked by Jesus, "What is written in the law? How readest thou?" answered, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, etc., *and thy neighbor as thyself*." So also of the other form of this same precept, called the "Saviour's Golden Rule"—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"—so far from giving that as a new law of the gospel—purer and higher than the ancient law—he expressly adds, "FOR THIS IS THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS." But it has been shown that, notwithstanding these precepts of love to man, in Moses, by his law slavery was distinctly recognized and allowed, not only in the civil law but in the moral and ritual law; not only in the state, but in the church, both anterior and subsequent to the organization of the state. And can any sane man conceive how, when the original utterance of this great law of Love did not preclude such a relation between man and man as that of master and slave, the simple citation of this law by Christ should preclude any such relation? If Moses, or rather Jehovah speaking through Moses, saw no incongruity between his summary utterance of the law of love and his enactments—"ye shall buy them of the strangers, and have them for a possession and an inheritance"—"he is his money"—"even thirty shekels of silver"—how dare any Christian man say that Jesus, in quoting Moses, intended to denounce as sinful what Moses had allowed in the church

of God? If the "law of love" in its original utterance, did not exclude slavery from the list of allowable human relations in the church of God, how can the mere *citation* of that law of love, possibly be taken to exclude such relation? *

* The argumentative use of the golden rule and the "law of love," in discussing the ethical propriety of slavery, as it figures in the sentimental rhetoric of anti-slaveryism, is so utterly intangible and ethereal—a "name" without a local habitation—as to be unanswerable. In the thought and language of simple-minded people and children, this nebulous universe of the platform and pulpit orators condenses into the solid practical question—"How would *you* like to be a slave?" And its fallacy, as an argument, is at once evinced by the retort—"How would *you* like to be that hod-carrier, that toils up and down the ladder in the broiling sun, risking his neck and wasting his strength in your service, for a pittance less in value, perhaps, than the crumbs that fall from your sumptuous table? Or that housemaid, that welters in filthy suds, as she sands and scrubs and rubs for the pittance, compared with which, the trinkets on your fingers are a fortune?" Is she not a woman and a sister? Shall not the law of love, with its golden rule, abolish this hod-carrying and scrubbing, by sharing the sumptuous fare and gaudy dress between employer and employee? Or explain why the restrictions and limitations must so carefully apply the *brake* to check its impetuous impulse, as *you* travel toward Ireland or Germany, while it is sinful to apply the *brake* as *others* travel toward Africa?

If, on the other hand, it is held that the law of love and the golden rule means—Do unto others—not what they desire, or what you in their places might *selfishly* desire—but what you in their places might *rightly* and *justly* desire to be done unto you; then it becomes simply a question of what is right and just—a practical problem which the sentimental rhetoric has done little toward solving. These masters who reverence, they think, as much as you do, the golden rule, conceive that they do what is just and right to their slaves under the circumstances. Nay, they hold that, as a general rule, not counting many exceptional abuses, they do nearer to right and justice to their laboring population than you to the laboring population of like class. That the master and mistress evince more of real love and affection for the slave, and the slave of more loyalty and affection for his master and mistress, than you to your hired servants, or they toward you. You differ from them in opinion on that subject. But unless you modestly claim as your right to judge both for them and you, the question

It is sometimes affirmed, however, that the permission of slavery in the Mosaic law stood upon the same footing with the permission of divorce and polygamy, which "for the hardness of their hearts" Moses tolerated, but which Christ, teaching a purer code of ethics, repealed. Now, on the contrary, perhaps no place in all the Scriptures more clearly teaches that the New Testament dispensation made no change in the law of slavery than this passage touching divorce and polygamy (Matt. 19 : 4).

In the first place, observe, Jesus did not repeal the permission of divorce and polygamy on the ground, as this theory insinuates, that His gospel has come with a new law of ethics, higher and purer, to supersede Moses; but, on the contrary, refers directly to the records of Moses as authority for his judgment: "*Have ye not read* (Moses in Genesis 1 : 27 and 24), 'They twain shall be one flesh?' *Wherefore* they are no more twain but one flesh. What, therefore, God hath joined together let not man put asunder." And the apostle Paul on the same subject refers first to Moses (1 Cor. 6 : 16), and then to this deliverance of the Lord Jesus (1 Cor. 7 : 10), as settling the question. This is not the place for an inquiry into the reason why polygamy and divorce were tolerated during the patriarchy in contravention of the original law of marriage; or whether this—like the levirate law, requiring a man to marry his childless brother's widow, directly contrary to the general Levitical law of marriage—was, for reasons

remains just as unsettled as ever, even under the golden rule. They appeal to the Scriptures, as the standard of ethical judgment, whereby to test the issue. You seem willing to appeal to the Scriptures, only on condition that your philanthropic theories of what *ought to be* the teaching of Scripture shall be first admitted. So, Rome is willing enough to appeal to the Scriptures, on condition that they shall be allowed to teach only what the infallible interpreter permits them to teach.

unknown to us, made an exceptional case. Nor does it matter to the present argument. The single point here made is that Jesus did not repeal the permission of divorce and polygamy in the civil code of Moses, on the ground of having a higher law of ethics for the New Testament church, but simply as *interpreting* Moses, and thereby recognizing his ethical teaching as continuing to be authoritative, even after the civilism organized by Moses had passed away.

In the second place, the permission of polygamy and divorce did not stand upon the same footing with slavery at all, in the Mosaic code. They were not recognized as properly existing, by Divine approval, in either of the three great covenants of the church—of circumcision, the Passover, and the moral law—as slavery was, but only in the civil code of the nation; and there, only in the way of amelioration, and in restraint upon the previous common law rights of patriarchy, just as the provision of the cities of refuge was made in amelioration and limitation upon the patriarchal common law of *Goel*, or blood revenge. And, therefore, we cannot, by parity of reasoning, infer the repeal of the toleration of slavery from the repeal of toleration of divorce and polygamy.

But in the third place, and still more conclusive on this subject: Even granting, for the sake of argument, what has just been proved to be untrue, that the permission of slavery stands upon the same footing in the Mosaic law with divorce and polygamy; yet while Jesus Christ *expressly and specifically repealed* the toleration of divorce and polygamy, He did *not* anywhere, in like manner, expressly and specifically repeal the toleration of slavery. What is the inference? Inevitably this, that slavery is left in the New Testament precisely as it stood in the Old. This, one would suppose, ought to settle the question with

every man who can reason intelligently. If the sinfulness of divorce and polygamy under the New Testament, though they were tolerated in the Old Testament, rests upon the fact that Jesus personally first, and subsequently through Paul, expressly repealed the toleration, then plainly the ethical propriety of slavery under the New Testament rests with equal certainty upon the fact that Jesus Christ *did not* repeal the toleration of slavery in the Mosaic code. And the Great Head of the church—"the same yesterday, to-day and forever"—having not only allowed the relation of master and slave to exist in that ancient church to which He gave the law of love as the rule of life between man and man, but also having allowed it to continue without repeal or rebuke in the New Testament church, what Christian man, with any intelligent reverence for His holy law, dares gainsay it? For remember that while the rationalizing apostates and infidels may consistently enough set up their humanitarian philosophisms, and "inner light," and "spiritual instincts," as the standard to which God's Word must conform, it is the part of a sincere and truly rational Christian man to bow reverently to the plain teaching of God's holy word. And even though these judgments given by Moses and Jesus seem to him "past finding out," and occasionally repugnant to the teachings of his natural heart, he but applies to Moses and Jesus the admired maxim of Coleridge concerning Plato, "When I cannot understand his ignorance I confess myself ignorant of his understanding."

Your attention is the more earnestly requested to the brief argument of this section, because it will be found that, under the hazy verbiage of this popular declamation about the "law of love" and the teachings of Jesus—"purer and milder" than the teachings of Moses—lurk ever the germs of that fatal heresy which begins with sep

arating, in idea, Jesus and John and Paul and Peter from Moses and David and Isaiah, in framing the ethical law of the Christian church. This once done, Moses and David and Isaiah no longer are "gospel" in the sense that Jesus and Paul and Peter are; then, by the inevitable laws of logical gravitation, that Moses and David and Isaiah did not in like sense with Jesus and Paul and Peter "speak as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," nor are "all Scriptures," in like sense, "given by inspiration of God." Then begins the transition to a hypocritical infidelity in the chaffer about the inspired and uninspired shreds of the Scripture history and teaching; then, finally, the conclusion that Jesus and Paul were mistaken in supposing Moses inspired; and therefore cannot themselves be inspired of God.

Many good men indeed indulge in this sort of declamation about the "purer and higher" ethical law of the gospel, and the darker and more imperfect ethical ideas of Moses, who are far from meaning to be either rationalists or infidels themselves; but they seem to forget that the effect on less sincere or intelligent minds is, practically, a preparation of the soil for receiving the germinal seeds of infidelity from the first plausible apostate who may rise up, ambitious of a distinction in destroying the church, which he cannot obtain by faithful toil in edifying it.*

* The author of this discourse has been held to speak uncharitably and unkindly in terming the current philanthropism "infidel," and the acceptance of it by the church "apostasy." He may be allowed to say that while he would be far from applying the term "infidel" personally to any one who may have unwittingly fallen into the snare by the pressure of popular fanaticism; nor the term "apostate" to every man in the church who has been betrayed into the slighter forms of this rationalistic reasoning concerning the Scriptures; still, on the ground of the highest Christian expediency, he denominates these heresies from their tendencies and final results rather than from their present degree of development. The masses of the people will understand and

SECTION VI.

In the final reorganization of the visible church, through the Apostles, under the dispensation of the Spirit, the ethical propriety of slavery, especially of the enslaving of Jews, must have been forced upon their attention. Yet the Apostles not only admitted slaveholders and their slaves together into the church, but enjoined the Christian duties of masters and slaves, precisely in the same manner as the duties of ruler and subject, husband and wife, parent and child.

THIS argument, which has been cumulative at every step, cumulates still more rapidly when we come now to examine the history of the reorganization of the Jewish church, as the church of all nations, through Christ's Apostles under the dispensation of the Spirit. Notoriously, in every community of the world-wide Roman Empire, as they went preaching the gospel and planting Christian churches, they found slavery existing by that Roman code already described as subsequently reduced into form by the lawyers of Justinian. To say the least of it, this code was equally as rigid and not more restrictive of the rights of masters than the modern American code. Now into this New Testament church, just as into the Abrahamic and Mosaic church, slaveholders and their slaves were admitted as its constituent elements. While great care is taken to

take the alarm from the brief language describing final results, far more readily than from circumlocutions descriptive of each precise stage of the inevitable progress. To denounce that as impious which has been tolerated in the church of God by inspired authority simply because a popular philanthropism demands it, or to put the language of Scripture to torture in order to appease popular philanthropism and secure its patronage for religion, is not infidelity or apostasy, but is not such, chiefly for the same reason that a pig is not a hog or a calf not an ox.

instruct both in their relative duties, and at the same time to instruct them that the Mosaic civil and ceremonial laws have expired by limitation, not a word is said anywhere of a repeal of the ancient ethical rule of life, to the church, or of dissent from the toleration of slavery in it.

But a still more positive proof to the contrary is found in the fact that even in the case of Jewish slaves—who would naturally argue, from the prohibition of the old law against enslaving a Hebrew, that their conversion and the conversion of their masters should operate a dissolution of their relation as master and slave—the Apostles uniformly urged upon them the principle that it was not the mission of the gospel to break up the social and civil relations of men. The fact that the Apostles read and expounded Moses in their preaching to many Jewish slaves, permanently reduced to bondage, would naturally suggest to them the notion of the sinfulness of such a bondage to those of whom Jehovah had said, "They are My servants—they shall not be sold as bondmen." This fact furnishes the explanation of the peculiar motive urged by the Apostles upon slaves to remain content in their estate—"that the name of God and His doctrine be not blasphemed." These slaves themselves, and their Judaizing friends, would insist upon it, as a religious question, that for a Jew to be a perpetual bondslave was an insult to Jehovah, who claimed him as His servant under the Abrahamic covenant; just as "tribute to Cæsar" was, if voluntary, an insult to Jehovah, the King and proprietor of the soil of Canaan. It was therefore impossible but that, in the apostolic churches, the question of slavery, as against Jewish masters, must be met; and also as to the relation of Jewish slaves to their heathen masters: even to say nothing of the innumerable cases of converted heathen slaves and their masters.

On turning now to the apostolic instruction on the

whole subject, nothing can be plainer than that they meant to tolerate the relation of master and slave just as it existed under the laws of the empire. Nay, more, that they meant to teach distinctly the right of masters to the service of their slaves, and the duty of their slaves to serve them faithfully and conscientiously.

Thus in 1 Cor. 7: 20, 21, "Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called" (*i. e.*, your calling as Christ's elect has made no change whatever in your civil relations). "Art thou called being a slave? Care not for it; but if thou mayst be made free, use it rather." As Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, suggests—though unfortunately himself smitten of late with the prevailing anti-slavery epidemic—the almost universal judgment of the ancient commentators is that both the Greek text and the connection of this passage require it to be read, not as our translation is commonly understood to read it, "If thou canst honestly be made free, then use the opportunity—prefer freedom;" but "Even though thou canst be made free—use rather your present condition—remain a bondman." This is not only the reading of the ancient commentators, but of the most learned and authoritative of all the modern German and English critics. Alford, among the latest and highest, insists upon this as the only proper reading. If we accept this as the meaning of Paul's instruction, it at once settles the question. But not being disposed to rest this argument on disputed interpretations, where there is even any show of reason for doubt, let us accept even the present popular interpretation of this injunction; still, as the most candid of modern anti-slavery critics admit, the whole argument of the Apostle proceeds upon the assumption of the lawfulness of the relation, and borrows from it, after the manner of Jesus in His teaching, His illustration of the relation of all Christians to Christ as his *slaves*

"bought with a price." Besides, the indisputable meaning of the whole passage is, that in becoming a Christian, neither does the slave acquire a right to civil freedom, nor the master lose his right of service.*

* Perhaps no other instance more fully than the commentaries on this text (1 Cor. 7: 21) illustrates the marvellous untruthfulness—wilful or ignorant—of the partisan homiletics which declare or insinuate that such views as those in this discourse are confined to persons whose slavery prejudices lead them to pervert the Scriptures from their generally accepted sense. By way of illustrating this, the citations of commentators on this passage are here arranged in three classes: first, generally received older commentators of the modern anti-slavery era; second, commentators prior to that era; third, the most learned and generally accepted of the more recent living commentators. It will be perceived that while they take opposite views of the phrase "use it rather"—all agree in the general construction of the passage followed in this discourse.

Of the first may be taken as specimens: Macknight, Dr. Clarke and the Comprehensive Commentary. Thus Macknight: "*Art thou called being a servant?*" "Since the gospel makes no alteration in men's political state, let every Christian remain in the same political state in which he was called. Agreeably to this rule, wast thou called *being a bondman?* Be not thou solicitous to be made free, fancying that a bondman is less the object of God's favor than a free man. Yet if thou canst be even made free *by any lawful method*, rather obtain thy freedom.

V. 24. "*Brethren, let every man,*" &c. (notes). "This exhortation, which is three times given in the compass of the discourse, was intended to correct the *disorder among the Christian* SLAVES *at Corinth*, who, *agreeably to the doctrine of the false teachers, claimed their liberty*, on pretence that as brethren in Christ, they were on an equality with their Christian masters." Mack. on Epistles, 1 Cor. 7: 20—24.

Thus Dr. Adam Clarke:

"*Art thou called being a servant? Care not for it.*"—Art thou converted to Christ while thou art a slave—the *property* of another person and *bought with his money?* Care not for it; this will not injure thy Christian condition; but if thou canst obtain thy liberty, use it rather; prefer this state for the sake of freedom and the temporal advantages connected with it.

"*For he that is called, &c.*—The man who, being a slave, is converted to the Christian faith, is the Lord's freeman; on the other hand, all freemen who receive the grace of Christ must consider themselves the *slaves* of the Lord, *i. e., his real property*," &c.

V. 23. "Ye are bought with a price."—As truly as *your bodies*

In the very remarkable case of Onesimus, the runaway slave of Philemon, the whole style of speech and the argument of the Apostle's letter, sending back the slave, after his conversion, to his master, are utterly incompatible with

have become the property of your master in consequence of his *paying down a price for you*, so surely are you now the Lord's property, in consequence of your being purchased by the blood of Christ." Clarke, Com. on 1 Cor. 7: 21–23.

So Dr. Jenks' addition to Scott and Henry in the "Comprehensive Commentary" on 1 Cor. 7: 21–23:

"The sense is not clear: Chrysostom and all the commentators understand, 'You need care so little that, even if you can gain your freedom, prefer your servitude as a greater trial of Christian patience.' So a religion of despotism counsels, contrary to the precept, 'Do not evil that good may come.' By what right can any man *imbrute God's image*, which Christ atoned for, to a mindless, will-less, soul-less, right-less 'chattel?' [The reader must remember this is the logic of a Boston abolitionist, who, as usual, must make God's word conform, first, to some extraneous standard of right, and second, to his 'false facts' concerning slavery.] So Camer, Schmidt, &c., and the Syriac (read it.) It is also ably defended by De Dieu and Wolf.

"But there is a *certain harshness about it*, to which necessity alone would reconcile me. *What is detrimental to human happiness cannot be promotive of virtue.* [Genuine New England hermeneutics.] The true intent seems that of Beza, Grotius, Hammond, and most recent commentators. "Do not feel too great a trouble on that account," &c. GROTIUS adds, "And ABOVE ALL, LET IT NOT DRIVE YOU TO SEEK FREEDOM BY UNLAWFUL MEANS," &c. Compreh. Com. 1 Cor. 7: 21–23.

Such then are the views taken of this scripture even by commentators, who are strongly anti-slavery in sentiment, as many of their *obiter dicta*, interpolated among their critical interpretations, evince. With all their zeal against slavery, however, they had not attained yet to the more recent recklessness of conscience, that scruples not to *thrum* the very language of God, as though it were the strings of an old fiddle, and draw forth therefrom such utterances as the fancy of the player or the occasion and exigencies of his case may require.

Of our second class may be cited Pool, Henry, and Gill.

Thus Pool's synopsis:

"*But if thou mayst be free, use it rather*"—use servitude rather: serve *rather* for the sake of the greater good, namely,

the notion that Paul did not fully recognize Philemon's rights over him as a master. Thus, for instance, even though he would gladly have retained Onesimus to minister to him in the bonds of the gospel, yet saith the Apos-

to thine own discipline and the salvation of thy master. But even though thou mayst be able to become free (that is, *by thine own trick and fraud*), prefer rather to continue in slavery. This sense best conforms to the following consolatory argument—'for he that is called being a slave is the Lord's freedman.' He does not mean, however, that they should prefer slavery to freedom voluntarily offered by the master, but to an *illegitimate freedom by flight or fraud.*" Poli Synop. 1 Cor. 7: 21.

Note here, that neither Pool here, nor Grotius above quoted on this place—though the former had some knowledge of the ethical judgments of the Reformed Churches, and the latter at least a smattering knowledge of the ethics of the "law of nature and of nations"—had yet been disenthralled from popular prejudice touching the ethics of property, nor attained to the sublime heights of the ethical "higher law" of our day, which teaches as a duty, and practises as a virtue the stealing of his freedom, and with it any of his master's property, by a slave, or the aiding and abetting such theft. How paradoxical to Pool or Grotius the gospel according to "might makes right," that, having the POWER to steal his freedom and his master's property, either of his own accord *or* by the instigation, the ingenious thievery, or the open robbery by violence of his friends, the slave has a right to steal himself and his master's goods!—since, according to this same gospel of "might makes right," the master, having the *power* to hold fast to the slave, must obviously have *the right to do it.* Not much unlike this is the odd logic of the "woman's rights" and "free love" section of the anti-slavery school, which bewails the bitter bondage of white men and women under the Anglo-Saxon marriage laws, and yet goes into ecstasies of horror that the rights and privileges of the Anglo-Saxon marriage law are not extended to negro men and women also!

Thus Matthew Henry:

"Art thou called being a servant?" &c. It was common in that age of the world for many to be in a state of *slavery, bought and sold for money, and so the property* of those who bought them. Now says the Apostle, "Art thou called being a servant? Be not over solicitous about it," &c.

"He who is a slave may yet be a Christian freeman; he who is

tle, "I would not do it without thy mind, that *thy benefit* should not be, as it were, a necessity, but willingly" (Ep. Phil. 14). Plainly, the entire scope of the letter is in the spirit of one who relies upon the gospel as the means of

a freeman may yet be Christ's servant. He is bought with a price, and should not therefore be the servant of man. Not that he must quit the service of his master, or not take all proper measures to please him (this were to contradict the whole scope of the Apostle's discourse)," &c.

"No man should make his faith or religion an argument to break through any natural or civil obligation," &c. Henry, Com. 1 Cor. 7: 21.

Thus the great Baptist, Dr. Gill:

"Art thou called?" &c. The Syriac version renders the last clause—*choose for thyself rather to serve;* perfectly agreeable to the sense given by several great critics and excellent interpreters, who take the Apostle's meaning to be, that should a Christian servant have an opportunity of *making his escape* from his master, or could he by any art, trick, or fraudulent method obtain his liberty, it would be much better to continue a servant than to become free by any such means. Yea, some carry the sense so far that even if the servant could be made free in a lawful way—yet servitude was the most eligible," &c.

"But one should rather think that the more obvious sense is, that when a Christian servant has his freedom offered to him by his master, or can obtain it in a lawful and honorable way, he ought to make use of it," &c. Gill's Com. 1 Cor. 7: 21.

Of the third class of commentators—the most learned and generally accepted cotemporary critical scholars—Dr. Alford, Dean of Canterbury, will furnish a fair specimen:

"1 Cor. 7: 21-24. *Second example*—SLAVERY—'*Wert* thou called (*i. e.* converted) a slave? Let it not be a trouble to thee, but if thou art even able to become free, use it (*i. e.* remain in slavery) rather. This rendering, which is that of Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, Wolf, Bengel, &c., &c., is required by the *usage of the particles ei kai*, &c. It is also required by the *context;* for the burden of the whole passage is, 'Let each man remain in the state in which he was called.' Beza, Calvin, Grotius, and almost all the moderns understand, 'freedom' after 'use.' The objections to this are: (1.) The position of the *kai*. (2.) The clause would hardly have begun with *alla ei*, but with *ei de*—so the alternative propositions in v. 9, 11, 15, 28, 36. (3.) The absence of a demonstrative pronoun after 'use,' by which

the *amelioration*, not the emancipation of the slave. And nothing can be more directly contradictory than the Apostle's whole actions and words on this occasion, as contrasted with the actions and words of many in these days, claiming to be honest and Christian men, who, in like case, would not only encourage the slave to steal his freedom,

we are thrown back, not on the secondary subject, freedom, but on the primary—slavery. (4.) Its utter inconsistency with the general context. The Apostle would thus be giving two examples of the precept, one of which would convey a recommendation of the contrary course. See this followed out in Chrysostom. (5.) Its entire contradiction to verse 22. (6.) It would be quite inconsistent with the teaching of the Apostle, that in Christ *freemen and slave* are all one (Gal. 3 : 28)—and with his remarks on the urgency and shortness of the time in this chapter (v. 29)—to turn out of his way to give a precept of mere worldly wisdom, that a slave should become free if he could. (7.) The import of *Chraomai*, (to use) in such a connection, which suits better the remaining in, enduring, laboring under, giving one's self up to an already existing state, than the adopting or taking advantage of a new one," &c.

"V. 22. *Ground of the above precept. For the* SLAVE who was called in the Lord, is the Lord's freedman; similarly he that was called being free is the SLAVE of Christ. The (actual) slave is (spiritually) free: the (actual) free is a (spiritual) slave." Alford, Com. 1 Cor. 7: 21–22.

This elaborate criticism is here cited so fully, and in a form to be comprehensible to the English reader, rather than brief citations from several authors, for the purpose of exhibiting how clearly and sharply true scholarship can "give a reason" for its faith, in contrast with the loose dogmatism that simply declares a passage *must mean* so and so in order to conform to its foregone conclusion.

And this extended note exhibits remarkably the fact that, however commentators differ about the construction of "use it rather," they universally sustain and more than sustain the argument of the discourse, and flatly contradict the partisan quibblers who pretend to deny that slavery existed in the Apostolic Church; even the honest and conscientious anti-slavery commentators admitting more than the argument of the discourse claims. And yet these partisans have the brazen assurance to tell the people that these views are held only by Southern men, in consequence of their sectional theories and prejudices!

with anything else he could lay his hands on, but write to the master, in terms of bitter denunciation, concerning his awful sin in holding his fellow man in bondage.*

It is impossible to put any fair construction upon the

* The marvellous effrontery of the zealots for the anti-slavery theory of the New Testament, in telling the people that the interpretation of the Epistle to Philemon which makes Onesimus a runaway slave is a *pro-slavery interpretation*, may be seen not only from the citation of learned critics, but of popular commentaries which the people have in their hands. Surely these zealots seem to think they are handled rather than read.

Thus says Dr. Scott, nothwithstanding his hostility to slavery, in his preface to the Ep. to Philemon:

"Onesimus was Philemon's *legal property*, and St. Paul had required and prevailed with Onesimus to return to him," &c.

"He knew that Philemon would no longer consider Onesimus as *merely a slave*, but view him as *above a slave*, even as a brother beloved," &c.

Even in the recent "Portable Commentary"—emphatically a book for the people—the Rev. A. R. Fausset, in his preface to the Epistle to Philemon, says:

"Onesimus of Colosse ('one of you,' Colossians 4: 9), a SLAVE of Philemon, had fled from his master to Rome, after having probably defrauded him."

So on verse 16. "No longer a mere servant, or SLAVE (though still he is that), but above a servant, so that thou shalt derive from him not *merely the services of a* SLAVE, but higher benefits." Portable Commentary, Ep. Phil. v. 16.

So again the popular Methodist commentator, Dr. Clarke:

"The Christian religion never cancels any civil obligation: a SLAVE, on being converted and becoming a freeman of Christ, has no right to claim, on that ground, *emancipation from the service of his master. Justice* therefore *required Paul to send Onesimus back to his master*, and *conscience* obliged Onesimus to agree in the propriety of the measure." Dr. Clarke's Com. Ep. Phil. v. 12.

Precisely to the same effect are the more critical commentators. In Pool's preface to the Epistle to Philemon are found these suggestions:

"It admonishes us, 1. That no one, even of the lowest position, is to be despised. 2. That the faculties of a slave are not to be despaired of. 3. That *slaves becoming believers* in Christ do not thereby become free, nor are *to be taken away from their masters without their consent*. 4. What is the duty of a bishop both

instructions addressed to masters and slaves in the apostolic letters that does not imply a recognition of the ethical propriety of that relation even between members of the same Church. It is inconceivable that in an epistle addressed "to the *saints* which are at Ephesus and the *faithful* in Christ Jesus," an inspired Apostle, after specific directions to husbands and wives, parents and children, should, precisely in the same manner, address specific directions to masters and servants, without a word to

toward the lowly and the exalted. The object in writing this letter was, that the *slave should be reconciled to his master*." Poli Synopsis, Ep. ad Philemon.

"Onesimus, a SLAVE, in some disgust having *run away* from his master, Philemon, came to Rome," &c.

"But being sensible of his *fault in running away* from his master, he wished to repair that injury by returning to him," &c.

"Having a *number of slaves*, on whom the pardoning of Onesimus too easily might have a bad effect, he might judge some punishment necessary," &c.

"What the Apostle wrote to Philemon on this occasion is highly worthy our notice; namely: that though he had need of an affectionate, honest servant, &c.—yet the Apostle would by no means detain Onesimus without Philemon's leave, because it belonged to him *to dispose of his own* SLAVE in the way he thought proper. SUCH WAS THE APOSTLE'S regard to JUSTICE and the rights of mankind." Macknight on Ep. Phil.

But as a specimen of the more recent and the highest results of criticism, take the following from Dr. Wordsworth's New Testament:

"That short letter, dictated from the 'hired house' of the aged Apostle, a prisoner at Rome, may be called a divine act of emancipation, &c.; an act which, while it thus *ameliorated the condition of the slave*, not only did *not* impair *the just rights of the master*, but greatly improved them, by *dignifying service*, and by securing obedience to man as a duty done to Christ," &c.

"St. Paul did not constrain Philemon to emancipate his slave, but he inculcated such principles as *divested slavery* of its evils," &c. This whole passage of the learned Canon of Westminster seems precisely in harmony with the views of the "Appeal to the Christian World," by the Southern ministers, touching slavery.

distinguish this relation as ethically less proper than the other, on the theory that the writer deemed it unlawful for one man to have a permanent right of property in another man's labor. It is equally inconceivable that, on the supposition of the unlawfulness of such relation as defined in the Justinian Code, an inspired Apostle should say, "Slaves, be obedient to your masters—*in singleness* of heart as unto Christ—not as men-pleasers—with *good-will* doing service as to the Lord, and not to men," or that he should say to their masters, without a hint at emancipation—though at the same time, like Job, arguing the duty of masters, from the equality of all men before God—simply, "Do the same thing unto them, forbearing threatening."* (See Ephesians 6 : 4–9.)

* Not only for the sake of abundant testimony to the accordance of the constructions of the word of God here given with the general voice of the Church of God, but also for the purpose of letting the people know how they have been led away from the accepted interpretations of every age of the church since the Reformation, the following interpretations of this passage are here given. It will be remembered that Pool's Synopsis represents the whole criticism of the Protestant church up to 1650 :

"*Servants, obey your masters.*"—The Apostle did not overthrow the general custom of working slaves, for it has its advantages, and it is lawful to use it rightly. He teaches that the Christian religion consorts with political slavery, and that the political *status* is neither overthrown nor changed by Christ." Poli Synopsis, Epis. Eph. 6 : 5.

"*Them that are your masters.*"—"They were apt to be impatient and weary of the yoke, and scandal was likely to arise from servants in the first ages of Christianity through some libertines, and the *licentiousness of the false teachers* who insinuated that servitude was inconsistent with Christian freedom." Gill, Com. Eph. 6 : 5.

Even Drs. Scott and Clarke, whose judicious expositions of the *meaning of the language* are interpolated sometimes apparently with shreds of the latest philanthropism of Exeter Hall, in palpable contradiction of their own interpretations, do not pretend to deny that the Apostles addressed as *saints* both masters and slaves, and enjoined upon them their relative duties under a system which,

In the epistle to the Colossians, again, addressed to the "saints and faithful brethren in Christ which are at Colosse"—in Phrygia, "the land of slaves," as it was called, and the residence of Philemon—the same instructions are given to slaves, and similar instructions to masters to "do that which is *just and equal*," enforcing it by the same argument of the natural equality of all men before God (Coloss. 3 : 22–4 : 1.) But not the remotest hint that *justice* and equality required them to free their slaves.

Again, in the Pastoral epistles instructing young ministers in their duties—in which, if the relation of master and slave were wrong, it is unaccountable that allusion should be made to the subject without so pronouncing it—these ministers have it enjoined upon them specifically, to teach slaves to be faithful and obedient. Thus, in the instructions to Titus (ch. 2 : 8–10), it is an illustration of the "sound speech not to be condemned" to "exhort slaves to be obedient to their own masters, and to please them well in all things"—that they may "*adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.*" That such a conception of the mode in which men should "adorn the doctrine of our God and

as Dr. Clarke contends, is an "enormity and a crime." It would be rather odd to find the Apostle addressing directions how to discharge their relative duties to gamblers or highway robbers, without a word of rebuke of "the enormity and crime" of the system by which they live. Yet says Dr. Scott :

"In general the servants at that time were slaves, the property of their masters," &c. "But the Apostles *were ministers of religion*, not politicians." Scott's Com. Eph. 6 : 5.

And says Dr. Clarke :

"Even a slave, if a Christian, was bound to serve him faithfully by whose money he was bought; however illegal the traffic may be considered." Clarke's Com. Eph. 6 : 5.

Says Alford—Eph. 6 : 5—*of masters and slaves:* "There is no reason to render *douloi* 'servants,' as in the Eng. version, for *by this much of the Apostle's exhortation is deprived of point.*"

Saviour," now would be received with incredulous derision and disdain, in a large part of the Protestant Church, is only a sad evidence of the distance to which the Churches have drifted away from Apostolic notions of Christian faith and practice, under the blasts of the stormy humanitarianism before which the Churches have given way. Similar instructions to servants, enforced by similar motives, are given by the Apostle Peter to the "strangers scattered throughout Pontus," &c.* (1 Peter 2 : 18.)

* The exhortation in Colossians being the same as that in Ephesians, its interpretation is supported by the same proofs. It may be worth while, however, by way of giving the reader some conception of the "great crowd of witnesses" who testify in favor of the correctness of the interpretations on which the argument of this discourse rests, to add the following:

"*Servants, obey in all things your masters.* The occasion of this precept seems to spring from the circumstance that servants converted to Christianity thought themselves to be exempt from the yoke of servitude. WHICH OPINION full of error, the DEVIL, without doubt, INSTILLED INTO THE MINDS OF MEN, that thence he might render the Christian religion odious among the heathen as a disturber of order." Bishop Davenant on Col. 3 : 22.

"St. Paul (Col. 4 : 1) commands masters to give to their slaves what is just and equal, but he also teaches slaves this lesson: If a man have food and raiment, let him therewith be content." Rev. Canon Wordsworth, 1859.

"Col. 3 : 24. The reward of the inheritance. Knowing that it is from the Lord (the ultimate source of reward) ye shall receive the compensation (or recompense which will make ample amends for having no earthly possession as *slaves now*) consisting of the inheritance (a term excluding the notion of meriting it by works; it is all of grace, Rom. 4: 14)." Rev. A. R. Fausset, Portable Commentary, on Col. 3 : 24.

"V. 25. This verse seems best to be taken as *addressed to the slaves*, by way of encouragement to regard Christ as their master and serve him, seeing that all their wrongs, if they leave them in his hands, will be in due time righted by him, the just judge, with whom there is no respect of person." Alford, Com. Col. 3 : 25.

The following expositions of 1 Pet. 2 : 18, may be cited as specimens:

"The case of servants wanted an apostolic determination as

SECTION VII.

The Apostles not only recognized negatively the ethical propriety of the relation of master and slave, but expressly denounced those "who teach otherwise" than that slaves shall obey their masters, as heretics, from whom true ministers of the Church must withdraw fellowship.

But perhaps the most conclusive evidence that the foregoing argument contains the true teachings of the Scriptures on this subject, will be found in the special instructions of Paul to Timothy, in reference to such as, from either Judaizing or humanitarian tendencies of mind, deny the obligation of slaves to give their masters all honor and due service. For such instructions imply that precisely such questions on the subject were raised then as are raised now: and that an Apostolic decision has been had on actual cases made. In the instructions to Timothy (1 Tim. 6: 1–5) the Apostle directs, "Let as many slaves as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not

well as that of subjects, for they imagined that their Christian liberty set them free from their unbelieving and cruel masters. To this the Apostle answers: Servants, be subject." Henry, Com. 1 Pet. 2: 18.

"This was another notion of the Jews, that because they were the seed of Abraham they ought not to be the servants of any. Hence the Apostle Peter here, as the Apostle Paul frequently elsewhere, inculcates the duty of servants to their master." Gill, Com. 1 Pet. 2: 18.

"In the time when the gospel was first preached, servants for the most part were *slaves*, and as many of them were converted to Christianity with or without their masters, it was feared lest they should take too much upon them and think too well of themselves," &c. Dr. Jortin on 1 Pet. 2: 18.

blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. If *any man teach otherwise*, . . . he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy—perverse disputing of men of corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness. FROM SUCH WITHDRAW thyself."

It appears, therefore, that, just as has been presumed in this argument, from the peculiar law of Moses prohibiting the enslaving of a Hebrew permanently, which law was still read in the Churches and made the foundation of Apostolic sermons, controversies arose touching this question of the relation of master and slave. And men taught that converted slaves should not any longer submit to the yoke; and especially that masters pretending to be Christians, and still claiming rights over their slaves as masters, must be insincere and hypocrites. Beyond all doubt too, the selfish passions of the human heart, even partially sanctified, would make this a very acceptable doctrine to other than Jewish slaves. Clearly this tendency to make religion a plea for subverting the rights of masters, was somewhat general, and the heresy regarded as a dangerous one from the prominence given the matter in this brief letter of Pastoral instructions. As before he had taught didactically the contrary doctrine concerning master and slave, so now here he not only reasserts his former opinion of the duties of slaves and the rights of masters, and in connection therewith takes occasion to portray the character of these noisy philanthropists in no very gentle terms; but also ordains that the ministers of

the Church shall give them no countenance. "From such withdraw thyself." *

It is upon the ground of this authoritative instruction to all ministers of the Church, through Timothy, that I

* In order that this argument from this important passage may be thoroughly justified, numerous but brief citations are here made, to establish, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the construction here put upon the place, is in precise accordance with that of the wisest and most learned men of God, in the Protestant Church, from the Reformation Era down to the present:

"In the beginning of the sixth chapter he gives a command *to slaves*, where the young should remember that the common rule is confirmed which is so often repeated—that THE GOSPEL DOES NOT ABOLISH ESTABLISHED ORDER. . . . . So we see here THAT SLAVERY IS APPROVED, SUCH AS WAS THEN LAID DOWN IN THE LAWS." —(Melancthon on 1 Tim. 6: 1.)

"As every man is disposed, with a false estimate, to arrogate superiority to himself, there is no one that bears with equanimity that others should rule over him. . . . . All of this sort of disputations, however, the Apostle cuts off with one word, when he exacts a willing subjection from all who are under the yoke. For he signifies that the inquiry is not whether they are worthy of such a lot; because it is enough that they are held fast in this condition."—(Calvin, Com. 1 Tim. 6: 1.)

"If Christianity finds servants under the yoke, IT CONTINUES THEM UNDER IT, for the Gospel does not cancel any obligations any lie under, either by law of nature or by mutual consent."—(Henry, Com. 1 Tim. 6: 1.)

"Civil rights are never abolished by any communication of God's Spirit. The civil state in which any man was before his conversion is not altered by that conversion, nor does the Grace of God absolve him from any claims which either the state or his neighbor may have upon him."—(Clarke, Com. 1 Tim. 6: 1.)

"For, though all Christians are equal as to religious privileges, *slaves are inferior to their masters in station.* Therefore, let them serve their masters more diligently, because they who enjoy the benefit of their services are believers and beloved of God.

"If any one teach differently, by affirming that, under the Gospel, *slaves are not bound to serve their masters*, ... he is puffed up with pride, and knoweth nothing, either of the Jewish or the Christian revelation, although he pretends to have great knowledge of both. FROM SUCH IMPIOUS TEACHERS WITH-

have denounced the present general departure of the Churches from these teachings of the word of God, and the ideas of the Church of God during all the ages of inspiration, under the lead of a mere humanitarian philan-

DRAW THYSELF and DO NOT DISPUTE WITH THEM."—(McKnight, Com. 1 Ep. Tim. 6 : 1.)

"THE DUTY OF SLAVES IN OPPOSITION TO THE FALSE TEACHERS. 'Let as many under the yoke as are (slaves).' The exhortation is natural, as there was a danger of the Christian slaves inwardly feeling that they were above their heathen masters," &c.

"*Blasphemed.*" "Heathen masters would say—'What kind of God must be the God of Christians, when such are the fruits of His worship?' But the opposition is between those Christian slaves, under the yoke of the heathen, and those that have believing masters."—(Fausset, Port. Com. 1 Tim. 6: 1.)

"Similar exhortations are found in Epist. 6: 5; Col. 3: 22; and Tit. 2: 9; Com. 1 Cor. 7: 21; all apparently directed against the very plausible misconception that Christianity was to be understood as putting master and bond-servant upon an equality, or as interfering with existing relations, &c.

"'*Believing*,' i. e. Christian masters; slightly emphatic, as the order of the words suggests. The slaves who were under heathen masters were *positively* to regard their masters as deserving of honor, the slaves under Christian masters were *negatively* not to evince any want of respect.—(Dr. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Critical and Grammatical Commentary 1 Tim. 6: 1—New work, 1865.)

"'*And first to the duties of Christian slaves. Let as many as are slaves under the yoke.*' This verse obviously applies only to those slaves who had unbelieving masters. This is brought out by the reason given, and by the contrast in the next verse," &c.—(Alford, Com. 1 Tim. 6 : 1.)

"St. Paul here combats and condemns the *false teaching*, which, under the color of preaching the doctrine of UNIVERSAL LIBERTY, EQUALITY and FRATERNITY in Christ, *enlisted the passions of slaves against their masters*, and subjects against their rulers; and thus exposed the name of God and the doctrine of the Gospel to reproach and blasphemy from the heathen, as if it were a religion of anarchy and sedition, and ministered to man's evil appetites and love of lucre, under the name of piety and goodness, &c.

"The great Apostle had, therefore, a difficult task to perform, in vindicating and maintaining, on the one side, Christian liberty against some of the Judaizers; and in asserting and upholding the

thropism from without, as apostasy from the faith. What I have shown to have been the faith of the Church on this subject during the two thousand years of the Church's history, from the covenant with Abraham to the closing labors of Paul the Apostle, you will find, from the elaborate and conclusive argument and evidences of the venerable Bishop Hopkins, continued to be the steadfast faith of God's people, almost without exception, for near another two thousand years between the death of the Apostle and the opening of the nineteenth century. If the views of the Scriptures presented in this argument are the true views—and remember, I have made no new and original interpretations, but presented in every case simply the results of the best biblical learning, and the judgment of the wisest and most orthodox commentators—then very plainly the current popular opinion without and the current sentiment within the Church, is amazingly aside from the spirit and teaching of our great Protestant standard of all religion—the Bible. If therefore this argument, laying its foundations in the great covenant of God, which organized a Church visible as a separate society on earth, and woven out of the successive revelations made to that Church, age after age, through Moses and the Prophets, Jesus and

duty of Christian subjection, on the other hand, against those of the same class who abused the sacred name of liberty into a plea for licentiousness.

"*The false teachers ingratiated themselves with slaves and other dependents by flattering them, that because all men are equal, and brethren in Christ, therefore they need not be subject to their masters,*" &c.—(Rev. Canon Wordsworth, Com. 1 Tim. 6: 1.)

It is to be presumed that such a *catena* as this, extending through the learned and pious men of the church from the Reformation to 1860, will surely silence, once for all, the miserable slang about "pro-slavery interpretations." It makes it very difficult to see how those who interpret differently can sincerely hold to the inspiration of the Scriptures.

the Apostles,—cumulating at every step—and crowned at last by the solemn denunciations of an inspired Apostle, against all who pretend to find a contrary argument and doctrine in the Scriptures, as unworthy the fellowship of Christ's true ministers;—then it is my bounden duty—a duty laid upon me by the solemn responsibilities of my office, to warn the people of God against approaching unbelief and apostasy in the Church.

SECTION VIII.

The imminent danger to the Church from the tendencies of the anti-slavery philanthropism to subvert the faith of the people in the inspiration of the Scriptures. Fallacious judgments of even the greatest and wisest men under the influence of the mental and moral epidemics that seize upon society, as contrasted with the infallible judgments of God's word.

And now permit me to add, that it is simply in this aspect of the question of slavery as involving questions of the ethical and doctrinal perfection of the Scriptures, that I feel at liberty to discuss it while in the solemn ordinances of worship standing to speak, in the name of Christ, to the people. Whatever may be my opinions of the social, civil, and political expediencies of the institution of slavery; whatever my sectional prejudices in favor of or against it; or whatever, as a man and citizen, I may think of the good or bad political economy of the system, on the one hand, or the meddlesomeness, on the other, of those who may wish merely to force their better political economy on states and peoples, who are too stupid to appreciate and desire it,—all that is aside from the purposes of this argu-

ment. If it is simply a question of a certain political or social evil; of the abuses of an institution right and proper in itself, such as the innumerable abuses that, by reason of man's selfishness, cruelty, and general wickedness, all human institutions are subject to, let the reformers bang away till the abuses properly within their control and responsibility are all battered down; or until, for meddling with abuses out of their sphere, they get battered well themselves. The world is full of such abuses and hardships, and always will be, so long as it continues to be a fallen and depraved world. And its only hope of deliverance is in this great book of God, and not at all in the bustling humanitarian philanthropisms: that is surely reform in a wrong direction that sets the Bible aside to give the philanthropisms full play. The relation of landlord and tenant—of the lords of the soil to its peasantry—leads to great hardships and abuses in England, if we are to credit very eminent investigations.* Must we therefore

* How readily this argument from abuses may be applied to any system regulating the relations between wealth and poverty, property and labor, has no more striking illustration than in the case of the English system of land-law, and the results attributed to it by such English philanthropists as Joseph Kay, Esq., in his reports on the social condition of the English people. If half these results are truly charged, then the denunciatory philanthropy now in vogue with a large class of Britons, would do well to bear in mind the caution of our Saviour—"Judge not," &c., and this significant query—"Why beholdest thou the mote?" &c. Especially should this philanthropy be cautious about drawing hasty conclusions concerning "the abominable system" of labor in the Southern States, from stories of travellers, flying in search of something to gratify the morbid passions of the public for shocking events; from the inventions of lionizing runaway negroes, under every conceivable temptation to indulge the natural propensity of their class for lying; and from the figments of Mrs. Stowe's creative imagination, disporting itself with all the unlimited license of a Beecher;—all the while treating with utter contempt the plain, intelligent testimony of the hundreds of laborious practical

organize societies to destroy the land-laws and make a division of lands between the lords and the peasants? The relation of capital and labor is confessedly greatly abused—shall we therefore demand of the capitalists

philanthropists; of the thousand ministers of religion; of the hundreds of thousands of Southern Christian men and women, and of the formal official assurances of councils and synods, solemnly given by eye-witnesses, of the practical working of the Southern labor-system.

The limits of a note forbid extensive citations; but a summary view of the chief points may be presented, with reference to the pages of "*The Social Condition and Education of the People of England.* By JOSEPH KAY, Esq., of Trinity College, Cambridge; Barrister-at-Law, and late Travelling Bachelor of the University of Cambridge. Harper & Brothers, New York. 1863." How entirely reliable are the statements to be made, appears from Mr. Kay's first sentence:—"I shall endeavor to show, from *reports published by the Government, and by individuals of the highest authority* on such questions, what is the present social condition of the poorer classes in our towns, and in our country districts," &c.

The general statement of Mr. Kay is, that the British laboring and poor classes are extremely ignorant, helpless, demoralized and pauperized, "owing to the depressing social system to which we have subjected them. . . . . *I mean the* system of laws regulating the descent, entailing conveyance, purchase and settlement of landed property."—(Pp. 14, 15.)

Now, obviously it matters little as to the practical result, whether labor is kept in a degraded position by a system of *direct* ownership of the laborer himself, or, *indirectly*, by ownership of the soil he treads, and the air he breathes, so long as he is too poor and helpless to leave it. And it may well be doubted whether even anti-slavery romance has painted abuses of the slave-labor system that can compare with the sad details of Mr. Kay, under the following heads of abuses of the English land-law system. He shows, in substance:

1. That the laboring man in England and Wales can, by scarce a possibility, become a landholder, and with difficulty even a tenant of a farm. That the small farms have been absorbed into the large estates; cottages destroyed to prevent their occupancy, and thereby to avoid poor-rates; and thus laborers are driven to herd like cattle in the crowded hovels in the rural districts, as in towns and cities labor is driven to shelter in cellars and filthy dens. The

a general division with their laborers? The relation of parent and child, itself, is terribly abused, as we are told,

the laborer's hope of rising in the world is a forlorn one. "Once a peasant, always a peasant." So that in this fundamental point of view it would seem that the advantage of the laborer in England over the laborer under the Southern system is rather theoretical than practical.—(Kay, pp. 10, 41, 51, 119, 125, 126, 165.)

2. That, as a consequence of the system, labor in most cases fails to secure food and clothing, and comfortable lodging—(pp. 26, 27, 51, 153, 163, 164.) And worse still, that, on an average, year by year, one and a half to two millions of the people are dependent for bread upon public and private charities—(pp. 29, 31.) That is, the number of paupers under the English labor-system is equal to one-half the whole number of slave population; while no one worthy of credit even has charged upon the Southern system that it fails to secure food, clothing, and lodging, save in a few exceptional cases.

3. That, as to the secular education of the laboring classes, *eight millions of the population cannot read and write*—(p. 252.) Even suppose this estimate exaggerated to doubling, it yet exhibits a number of the grossly ignorant equal to the whole number of slaves in the Southern States, over whose inability to read the Word of God—as if that were the only method of communicating the Gospel—so many tearful Jeremiads have been uttered. The fact is, however, that probably as large a proportion of the slaves do read as of the English poor, and nothing prevents their masters from teaching them to read.

4. That as to the moral condition of the laboring classes under the English land-system, it is reported from all quarters to be shockingly degraded. Of whole counties ministers report—"There appears to be a want of decency—the immorality of the young women is horrible." Of Wales,—"That the moral principles of the Welch people are totally corrupt and abandoned. While the sexes herd like beasts, it is idle to expect they can be restrained by religion and conscience. Fornication is not regarded as a vice—scarcely a frailty."—(Pp. 168–213.) All that has been "said or sung" of the immorality and licentiousness of the slave-labor system, is nothing to these fifty pages of Mr. Kay's book.

5. That as to the spiritual condition of the laboring and poor classes under the English system regulating the relation between landholder and peasant, capital and labor, it is affirmed: "One-half our poor have never been in any school, know little, or positively nothing of the Christian religion or moral duties—never read the

among the degraded poor of Britain *—shall we, therefore, like Lycurgus, give over the children to the care of the State? Nay, even among yourselves—as I am sorry to observe from the reports in the journals of numerous wife-

Scriptures: scarcely any of them enter a place of public worship, or ever come in contact with a religious minister. They live like brutes, then die to go—they never thought, or cared, or understood, where."—(p. 215.) Yet, with all the hardships and abuses charged upon the slave-labor system, the Protestant Churches of the Southern States report half a million of the slaves as members in full communion with them.

It is not the purpose of this note to taunt the British people with the hardships and sorrows that oppress their poor, nor to bring a railing accusation against their social institutions, nor to deny that these reports may be exaggerated, as all such reports are likely to be; but simply to show, in a way that may come home to them, how fallacious may be the argument from hardships and abuses against any general social system. And how absurd to condemn a social system which God has recognized in His word, and denounce, as unrighteous and wicked in itself—on mere idle and exaggerated reports of the hardships and abuses of it—an argument that, in a fallen and depraved world such as ours, may be applied to condemn even the best and wisest institutions ever devised for the comfort of society.

* As an extreme case of this unnatural abuse of the parental relation, and at the same time an additional illustration of the argument of the preceding note, it is sufficient to refer to the horrible details of Mr. Kay's book from the reports of Mr. Chadwick, Mr. Gardiner of Manchester, Rev. Mr. Wilkins, vicar of Wickes and others, of the murder of their own infant children by fathers and mothers, in order to get money from "the burial clubs," just as men sometimes burn their property to get the insurance money. It is shown that for the sake of the three or five pounds sterling assured to them, for a small annual payment from the birth of their child, these unnatural parents will murder their children by poison, or starvation, or cruel usage; that some make a business of it, entering the child in ten or twenty different clubs; that in one instance, in Manchester, a man murdered *seven* of his children successively at the age of from nine to eighteen months. Another, Mary May, thus *murdered* fourteen of her children successively, and then her little brother; that the very language of the poorer people is permeated with this horrible idea. The reply, on hearing of the dangerous sickness or death of a poor friend's child

beatings—the relation of husband and wife is abused;—shall we therefore give ear to the manifold stories of the free-love reformers concerning the wife-slavery of the Anglo-Saxon laws, and abolish marriage in favor of woman's rights?

That the relation of master and slave is abused, yea, even peculiarly liable to abuse, all Christian men where it exists have been ready enough to admit. And more, they have labored earnestly in amelioration and reform of abuses, and very successfully, save as they have been hampered in their efforts by a philanthropism which seems to care little for the Apostle's caution lest through the turbulence and unfaithfulness of slaves "the name and doctrines of God be blasphemed."*

is commonly: "It is no matter," or, "It is good luck for her—*that child is in two—three—five—burial clubs.*"

In a town of sixty-one thousand inhabitants, there existed eleven burial clubs, with an aggregate of fifty-two thousand members. (See Kay's Soci. Cond. p. 84–91.) What more melancholy illustration could be offered of the propensity of depraved human nature to abuse any and every institution and relation of life? yet who thinks of arguing that the children of all the poor should therefore be taken from them and reared by the state? Why then argue that because in a few cases masters also may act an unnatural and cruel part, the whole system must be abolished, society upturned, and four millions of negroes be turned loose among six or eight millions of white men, to sink at once, by indolence, below the condition of the "degraded, demoralized, and pauperized" labor so graphically described by Mr. Kay?

The sturdy honesty of Southern people is evinced by the fact that though they might secure the applause and sympathy of the world instead of its curses, by playing the hypocrite a little, and turning their slave system into a system of *peonage*, by seeming to emancipate, still they will not do it. Will not the world at least learn to respect their honesty and their contempt for all hypocrisy in an age of shams and deceits?

* That Christian men at the South have labored earnestly, and, all things considered, successfully, for the amelioration of their system, is a fact that would be too notorious to need mention, but for the fact that party philanthropism at the North, which has the

But when it comes to denying the ethical right of the relation itself, and the right of any man to property, permanently, in the labor of another, it ceases to be a question of the reform of abuses, and becomes a fundamental ques-

ear of the world, has found it necessary for its purposes to suppress the fact and to circulate the contrary falsehood. Thus, for instance, the Christians of South Carolina and Georgia, for twenty years before the war, expended perhaps as much money and the time and talents of as many educated men, in carrying the gospel to the slaves of those states, as all that the Anti-Slavery Churches of Britain and the North together expended for the evangelization of the African race. And the reports of Churches from all the slave-holding states, show the conversion and admission to full communion in Protestant Churches, of probably ten times as many of these slaves as the numbers of these gathered into the Church of Christ by all the missions of Britain and America from the heathen world.

Thus, too, in spite of the obstacles from the fierce jealousy and prejudices of the people in the South, constantly stirred and influenced by the arrogant, compact-despising and faithless propagandism of the North, which sought *not to ameliorate*, but, through their common relation to the general government, and in contempt of the political rights of the several states, to *abolish* the system of slave labor—the enlightened and philanthropic citizens had made such progress in the amelioration of the slave system, as to put the Southern greatly in advance of any ancient system in many particulars. In Louisiana, and probably in Georgia, the family rights of the slave were so far regarded by the civil law as to prohibit the separation of young children from their parents; and in 1858 there was a bill before the Legislature of Mississippi, supported by many leading men of the State, which proposed, in effect, to protect all the family rights of the slave by requiring a registry of the slaves on every plantation by families, and prohibiting the separation of husband and wife, and of young children from their parents.

What might have been done but for political interference, and faithlessness to the covenant between the states by a reckless fanaticism, is apparent from the fact that immediately upon the separation of the Southern Churches from the Northern, the Church courts, of all denominations, began to call upon the people for such modifications of the civil laws, as would protect by civil authority, as well as the sanctions of religion, the marriage covenant between slaves.

Like the hue and cry concerning the inability of slaves to *read* the

tion of religion. When it comes to denouncing as "an abominable system" and as "the sum of all villanies" a relation that at the very beginning of the race was announced of God, as one of the forms which human society should take; which was recognized as allowable in the very first organization of the Church; which was again recognized in the second great covenant to redeem from bondage a slave-holding nation, and in the very moral law given of God, as the Church' ethical rule of life; which

word of God—though all masters may, and Christian masters and mistresses do generally, teach their slaves to read, when they will receive the instruction, and though in other ways than by *reading* the slaves in common with the laboring masses of the civilized world receive that "faith that cometh by hearing"—so the hue and cry concerning the heathenism of denying to the slaves the protection of *civil law* to their marriage contract lies with any force only against the theoretic principle, rather than the actual practice of the Southern slave labor system. Of course, no Christian man denies that, viewing the slave as a person, as well as a property, the effort should be always to secure to him all the personal rights consistent with his civil status by the *civil law*. And every Christian master not only admits, but practises upon, the principle that the marriage covenant has all the sanctions of religion to enforce respect to it, independent of the civil contract. The real issue in the case is simply whether the slave shall have, equally with the free, the *civil right* to contract marriage, and be protected in that right against the master. And, as to that issue, however it may be determined theoretically, Southern Christianity, if unimpeded by political fanaticism, would before this probably have secured a decision by the Southern people to protect the marriage relation between slaves by civil authority. But even aside from all this, it must be borne in mind that the Southern system is, even in this respect, as far, if not farther, in advance, in conferring civil privileges upon slaves, as either of the ancient codes recognized in the Bible. And further, that if all masters were but to become Christians, the marriage law of Christ would be recognized in their households as extending alike to bond and free.

In such cases the question of marriage as a civil right would become an ethical question analogous to the Sabbath question raised by the Pharisees, and the proper answer to the question of a slave's civil right to marriage would be, "the marriage law was made for man, not man for the marriage law."

was recognized in the civil code, given by Jehovah himself, and according to which he administered a civil government as theocratic King, so long as the kingdom continued an independent nation; which went with the Church and nation into their captivity, and was restored with their restoration; which, in an empire of sixty millions of slaves, held under a heathen code, when Jesus Christ came, received from him no word of rebuke, but clearly his acquiescence in its ethical propriety; which began with the very beginning, again, of the Church reorganized as the Christian Church, as a relation recognized and its duties pointed out by Apostles; and finally whose denouncers were themselves denounced by an inspired Apostle, as unworthy the fellowship of true ministers of Christ:—when an institution thus ethically interwoven with the texture of every part of God's word is assailed with every epithet that can express vileness, loathsomeness, and depravity—then it becomes the infinitely solemn question whether, we have a revelation from God or not, and whether if so, those who hold such opinions of slavery can possibly hold the inspiration of "*all* Scripture."

I am free to say that as to practical consequences, ultimately, it is difficult to make much distinction between the open and avowed denial of plenary inspiration, the partial acceptance of the Scriptures, and the *apparent full acceptance* of them, which yet tortures the word of God upon any and every Procrustean bed which the humanly devised theories of natural right and ethical justice may prepare for them. Apostates like Colenso and his co-laborers in "Essays and Reviews" and the "Westminster Review," claiming still to hold a portion of the Bible inspired while they reject Moses, are pleased to caution those of us who will admit no distinction between the inspiration of Jesus and his Apostles, and that of Moses and the Prophets, and

warn us "not to carry the ark of God into the field of battle." To which I have only to say, if there is no longer any book of the law in the ark, and blossoming rod, and pot of manna—nor any mercy seat on its golden cover, nor Jehovah, as the ineffable brightness dwelling between the Cherubim upon it, then it is a *bogus ark;* let the Philistines take it! If Moses is not inspired, then how can Jesus and his Apostles be inspired, when mistaken in founding their whole system of doctrine upon Moses as inspired? If the ethics of Moses are impure, how shall we trust the ethics of Jesus expressly founded upon the teachings of Moses, first divested of the human accretions with which human ignorance and fanaticism had invested them? If "*all*" this Scripture is not "the inspiration of God," but only a part of it, and if we are left to the guesses of such learned critics as these in ascertaining which is the inspired part, "profitable for doctrine, reproof, and instruction in righteousnesss"—then where is the infallibility of our guide? If the bread that professes to come down from heaven is a loaf with poisoned parts in it, which none but these spiritual chemists can distinguish, then we had better throw away the loaf, and, in hunger, sorrow and despair, turn to "*the husks the swine did eat.*"

"We believe," says the Apostle, "therefore we speak." Brethren, I believe, therefore I speak—earnestly on this subject, and not in the spirit of a miserable logomachy concerning a controverted civil and social question. I believe that all Scripture—Moses just as much as Jesus—David just as much as John—Isaiah just as much as Paul—is the inspiration of God. I believe, too, on the other hand, that, by the very mental law that controls the conviction of humanity at large, this tampering with the language and teachings of God on one subject, to conform them to a mere human theory, must inevitably lead the multitude,

first to tamper with, and then to contemn, the word and teachings of God concerning any other subject, and finally on all subjects. For, however individual eccentricity of mind may enable one man to hold, persistently, contradictory propositions and use contradictory methods of interpretation, yet the great mass of humanity, as a whole, though less enlightened than the individual, is ever logical in its judgments. Just as surely as water will seek and attain its own level when the obstructions are removed, so surely will the multitude, left to its own mental action, settle down to the general logical conclusions which are consistent with the premises which error has taught it to reason from, and the methods by which error has taught it to reason.

I believe that it was the tampering with the teachings of God's word, to make them conform to the theories of a hazy philanthropism in England, on this very subject of slavery, that prepared the soil for the sowing of that crop of tares by the Francis William Newmans, the Williams, the Baden-Powels, the Colensos of Britain, and the blaspheming Theodore Parkers and lisping Emersons of America; which is now ripening into the harvest of apostasy in the Church of England. And the same process is now carried on in the Churches of Scotland by even holy men who know not what they do, preparing the soil for any Presbyterian Colenso to rise and lead off the masses into apostasy from the faith of their fathers. So the ministers of the American Evangelical Churches slept while the enemy sowed tares; until now, when the harvest of judgment is come, only here and there a head of the true grain can be discovered among the rank growth of the ostentatious counterfeit.

Only here and there a solitary voice appeals to the fanatical mob in the plaintive tone of Elijah—"I, even *I*

only, *remain* a prophet of the Lord, but Baal's prophets are four hundred and fifty men." And, with the propensity of the multitude to decide truth by the majority, no wonder the opinion of the four hundred and fifty Baal priests seems to make it hardly worth while to listen to the singular old man, but to say with a sneer—"Doth he not speak parables?"

But need I remind you that God's truth has always been in the minority in this fallen world, and therefore no argument in confirmation of faith can be drawn from the mere popular opinion of any age? Need I remind you, moreover, how often this philanthropy-frenzied world has gone mad? As with these physical epidemics, that, rising in some obscure corner amid filth and disease, become as the cholera, the pestilence that walketh in darkness, stalking around the globe and feeding upon its millions of victims, so these mental and moral epidemics that sometimes sweep over the earth's high civilizations. Thus, in former ages, the world was so filled with a mad passion for worshipping God as a local god, through stocks and stones, that the very Church of God gave way before it. All the world was on one side, and Elijah alone openly on the other, yet it turned out Elijah was right. Thus, in the middle ages, the epidemic of romantic zeal for the holy sepulchre precipitated all Europe upon the plains of Asia and hills of Canaan. Thus, too, at a later period, the epidemic that seized upon British society, filling men of all classes with stupid credulity and fear of witchcraft. Even in regard to their worldly affairs, how often have partial epidemics of this sort run even the commercial world mad—as witness the "tulip mania" in Holland, the South Sea and Mississippi stock madness in England and France, and a score of like cases. It is no new thing, therefore, that the world should be mad, nor very singular that the madness now

should take the form of a philanthropy too sublimated and vast in its conceptions to be satisfied with the homely God-taught philanthropy of the Bible. Profound students of the history of redemption have noticed the fact that in all ages it has been the method of the Devil to counterfeit so skilfully the peculiar features of each dispensation of God, as to "deceive the very elect." In the era of the Theophanies, his trick was to devise counterfeit Theophanies, the record of which heathenism preserves in its mythologies. In the Theocratic era, when Jehovah dwelt as king on earth, and was the oracle to be consulted by his chosen people, Satan set up his oracles throughout heathenism and seduced off the people of God. When the Son of God became incarnate, again the imitation was practised in possessions of the Devil. So, under the dispensation of the Spirit, he set up revelations through "lying spirits" to destroy the faith of the Church. For half a century past the Church of God has been distinguished for new zeal as a working Church, with ever-expanding schemes of philanthropy to elevate the sunken masses and give the gospel to all nations. It is only in accordance therefore with the history of all the past, that in this age the Devil should come, counterfeiting the philanthropist, and seeking to destroy the faith of mankind in so popular a doctrine of the gospel, by urging upon them a garish, flashy, mob-delighting philanthropy, and especially so cheap a philanthropy as one that demands no sacrifice of one's own property and comfort, as the gospel philanthropy does, but only a noisy clamor against the property and comfort of other people. Giving men thus a code of ethics, not to be practised by themselves, but on their neighbors, it is not strange that this code should set up a stricter standard of right than the gospel; nor that Christian men, captivated by its flashy generalities, should find it necessary to

strain and trim the language and teachings of this old rule, to force it into harmony with the new.

The honest servant of God, clear in his convictions of the teachings of God's truth, can afford to stand by such convictions, though all the Church cry out, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" With such convictions there is neither temerity nor real want of modesty in standing forth against a world in arms, because with his eyes opened by the Spirit of God he sees that "they that be with us are more than they that be with them."

It is therefore an argument of little real weight with me, that mighty statesmen in Britain and America denounce that which I have shown to be recognized by the ethics of the Bible, as the "abominable system" and the "sum of all villanies." For I remember that a mightier statesman and jurist than any of them—endowed of God with intellectual capacities beyond any of his tribe—even Lord Bacon himself, catching the singular infection of his age, justified as a judge the murder of poor helpless old women as witches, and as a philosopher studied the *rationale* of witchcraft. Why need it stagger one's faith in his own plain deductions from God's word, that great names in the British and American Churches in the interest of political power denounce them, when he remembers how Robert South, great as any of them, either intellectually or as a theologian, played the sycophantic courtier to the most faithless tyrant Stuart of them all; advocating with all his rare logical power the doctrine of passive obedience, and defending the divine right of kings? Why should I tremble before the elaborate show of learned critical skill, by a partisan Biblical critic, in devising some other reading of the sacred oracles to suit a theory, when I remember how the "learned Selden," profounder in Biblical learning than any of them, perverted all the vast stores of his learn-

ing and critical skill to root out of the Scriptures the idea of Christ's free, distinct, and independent commonwealth, and to subject the Church of our fathers under the iron heel of a coarse, fanatical despotism?

And yet one may claim to feel as real a reverence for the men of profound Biblical learning, and be as true a hero-worshipper, within the proper limits of hero-worship, as any of them, for all that. For the heroes, especially the heroes of learning, give way before the dominant ideas of their age as readily as common men. Hence, however a man in the enthusiasm of youth may be disposed to accept, as infallible, the dicta of the heroes of the schools within, or the general opinion of society without, he finds from experience that his mind outgrows these supposed infallible dicta, or discovers mistakes in the facts or fallacies in the argument on which they rest. He finds—often to his surprise, no doubt—that his infallible guides are "men of like passions," and subject, in like manner as other men, to the mental and moral epidemic that raged in their day. And the more experience of this sort the more he will be disposed to value and cling fast to any guide upon which he may depend with certainty.

Now, in the discharge of my office, I have been, for more than twenty years, working at this Great Book to find out the mind of the Spirit, as a foundation on which to rest my own and the judgment of the people. Often, indeed, have I found its "judgments" seeming to me unsearchable and its ways past finding out; but never a wrong judgment. And, generally, if in the spirit of Coleridge's admired rule concerning Plato—"When I cannot understand his ignorance I confess myself ignorant of his understanding"—I have waited patiently, looked further, and grown a little, mentally and spiritually, I have not failed to find that it was my ignorance, and the errors of

my human guides, that had obscured the truth from my view. With what little acquaintance I have been able to make with the philosophers and their reasonings, I have found them often mistaken just as common men; or if, at first, their opinions were accepted, they would not stand the test of a maturer judgment. But this Book I have never found mistaken; and, as again and again I review it in these lectures—now for the fourth time—I find the Book grows upon me with my growth—nay, outgrows me; and the mistakes of my earlier expositions are simply my failures to reach the spiritual depths of the writers. And the characteristic impression of my study of the Bible in the present course is the consciousness of still leaving the vast mines of thought unexplored that lie under all these utterances of Moses.

So I have found the philanthropists often terribly mistaken. However garish and attractive to the youthful eye their "glittering generalities of argument," and to the youthful heart their gospel of universal brotherhood and their prophecies of an Arcadian dignity of human nature, rising above all selfishness, pride, and passion, to inaugurate a general reign of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" over the whole race, I have found at last that the fitful glare of their light was but leading me a fruitless chase through bog and swamp and jungle. But I have never found these "holy men of old" mistaken; nor the plain, homely benevolence taught in this Book fail, as a true guide both of the mind and heart in laboring for the amelioration of the sorrows of our fallen humanity. Thus every lesson of sober experience combines with every dictate of my understanding and my heart to constrain me to stand by this Book, as my guide in ethics and philanthropy; going wherever it goes; stopping just where it stops. And having by earnest search found "what saith the Scrip

tures" touching this question of slavery—though that utterance is directly in face of the current popular opinion, and the general judgment of the popular leaders—I must be content to let the populace clamor—the philanthropists shudder and denounce—and the humanitarian scoffers sneer and mock—and calmly take an appeal onward to a soberer age. Meanwhile I stand fast by the old guide—the guide of our fathers, as it was understood by the fathers of every age; the guide that never failed me either in the waywardness of youth or in the trials of manhood—the eternal word of God.

CONCLUDING NOTE.

Application of the foregoing argument to the great secular issues now pending between the slaveholding States and British and New England philanthropism. The trilemma. Neither of its horns consistent with Scriptural ethics nor with facts. The slavery tolerated in the New Testament demonstrated to be the same in principle with that in the American States. Why these views have not been pressed upon the attention of the world before by Southern writers.

THE author's view of the nature and functions of his office, as a preacher of the gospel, did not permit him, while speaking in the name of Christ from the pulpit, to make an application of the foregoing argument to the great secular issues now pending between the slave-holding and non-slave-holding States; nor even to the issues of the last thirty years between slave-holders and the organized or unorganized private movements for depriving them of their property. Nor indeed was it properly within the scope of an argument, not so much in defence of slavery, as offensive against the tampering with the Divine word, in justification of hostility to slavery, to discuss the general movements of the current secular philanthropism. Yet as a writer communicating his thoughts to the public, he has felt at liberty to suggest the ap-

plications of the argument, as in the foregoing notes; so also here in a concluding note, by way of appendix to his published discourse. The earnest attention of conscientious men and logical thinkers is requested to the brief suggestions which follow.

Leaving out of view here the popular illogical argument from abuses, which commonly, in this case, is merely a rhetorical farrago of false reasoning from still "falser facts," as unworthy of any further notice than has been already taken of it in the discourse and notes, there are but three conceivable grounds upon which an honest Christian man can, logically, give a reason for his faith and practice in joining the popular crusade for the extermination of slavery, either by means of the pious thieveries of private philanthropism, or the open violence of public robbery, under the ethical theory that "might makes right." Either—

First. That the holding of slaves—i. e., of persons who are also the owner's "possession"—"inheritance"—"money"—"property"—"chattel"—is, intrinsically, contrary to ethical right, and so clearly a sin *per se* against God and man as to be without the pale of protection by law: or,

Secondly. That though it may be, abstractly, not contrary to ethical right, it is yet practically a bad social and political economy, so hostile to the interests of society at large as to be incapable of protection by law as other rights of property: or,

Thirdly. That, though the Scriptures recognize and tolerate a system of slavery, as ethically proper, yet this particular American system of slavery is, in principle, different from, and ethically contrary to, the system tolerated in the Bible.

As to the first of these three propositions:—That the holding of slaves, *i. e.*, persons who are also at the same time the owner's "possession," "inheritance," money," "property," or "chattels,"—is a thing recognized and tolerated in the Scriptures, has been shown beyond dispute in the foregoing exposition of Scripture language and history. For, if human language and forms of thought can be relied upon at all for expressing the mind of God (and if not, where is the use of a Bible), then it is certain that the utterances of the Scripture, expounded in accordance with the Church's interpreters, and with the steadfast faith of God's people in all ages, do convey to us the notion that such a slavery did exist, and was tolerated in the Church, as ethically proper, during all the eras of inspiration. To pretend to hold, therefore, both the theory of the ethical wrong of slavery, and at the same time the inspiration and divine authority of the Scriptures, in the proper and natural sense of their language, is just as inconsistent and impossible to a logical mind, as to hold at the same time both the Ptolemaic theory and the Copernican theory of our physical universe. And to deny the plain sense of the words of Scripture, and devise interpretations of them consistent with the denunciation

of slavery as a sin, is simply to furnish a critical machinery to any and every trifler with the divine word whereby to make it support any heresy. Nay, by the same critical process whereby it is proved that *ebed* and *doulos* do not mean *slave*, in the sense a "person" who is yet another's *property*, it may be proved, with equal certainty, that "Abraham" does not mean a person, but a myth, symbolizing a "high estate *with a large family*;" that "Israel" means no actual personage at all, but only a mythical, abstract, "*gymnastic superiority*," and that Moses is merely an allegorical condensation "*drawn out*" of the nebulous myths of the Nile. Practically, therefore, the theory of the sinfulness of slavery is a denial of the perfection and purity of the Scripture ethics, as the consistent abolitionists admit in demanding "an anti-slavery Bible and an anti-slavery God." How can Christian men reconcile it to their conscience to ally themselves thus with men whose open and direct declarations or indirect insinuations all alike go to undermine the foundations of the popular faith in the Scriptures?

As to the second of these three propositions:—That, though recognized in Scripture, and, abstractly, not contrary to ethical right, slavery is yet, practically, a bad social and political economy, so hostile to the interests of society at large as to be out of the pale of the legal protection given to other rights of property; however that might be a valid reason for the faith and practice hostile to slavery by the citizens of slaveholding States, indisputably it cannot save citizens of other States and countries, who labor to extirpate slavery and deprive masters of their property, from the Scriptural denunciation against the "truce-breakers," "covenant-breakers," and "busy-bodies in other men's matters." By what principle of gospel ethics are British and Northern anti-slavery men responsible for the bad social and political economy of other States and countries, and constituted judges and guardians, not only of their own, but of other people's social and political system? By what ethical principle will they justify against the charge of organized theft and robbery the movements for depriving other men of that property which has been originally purchased from their own British and Northern fathers, recognized as their lawful property by written and unwritten British covenants for three hundred years, and by the express stipulation of the National covenant between the States? Even granting that this property has not been justly acquired, does that authorize stealing it from those that hold it? Unnumbered millions of property in London, Boston, and New York, have been acquired by unfair and unjust means. Is it any the less stealing or robbery to take it from the present holders, by fraud or violence? No thoughtful man need wonder at the proofs of the alarming increase of crimes against property, and the diminution of reverence for the sacred-

ness of property rights, which every day's account brings to his ears from Britain and America, who is familiar with the teaching and practice of anti slavery philanthropy, "falsely so called," for thirty years past; and who reflects for a moment on its inevitable tendencies to subvert, in the popular mind, that reverence for the rights of property, which God has made of importance enough to be inculcated by the solemn sanctions of His law. The contempt for rights of property by known knaves and sharpers, has comparatively little evil influence on the popular mind. But contempt for property rights under the guise of religion and philanthropy—pious thievery and robbery—who shall estimate its power of evil?

It is, manifestly, too late now, in the 19th century, after three hundred years of solemn covenant guarantees, in every form, to property rights in slaves, to raise the issue of right of possession on the score of bad social economy, or on any other plea of want of just title. It is barred by a statute of limitation, even in a court of conscience. If not, it would be well for those who have found the flaw in the title to the slave property, that they look well into their own land titles. For it may well be doubted whether any land title in Britain, or, more especially, in America, can afford to trace its pedigree, under the law of entail, by which the new ethics tries the slave titles. It would surely be a curious outworking of a system of ethical heraldry that would doom men to be virtually denounced as "man-stealers," by the children of "slave pirates" and "land pirates." If the title to slaves, derived by purchase from lawful slave-traders of Boston and Liverpool, one hundred years ago, or from "the Royal Sovereign Queen Anne," and her lawfully organized co-partners in the slave trade, one hundred and sixty years ago, is not as good a title to slaves, as most people have to their lands; then, certainly, the grandchildren of neither the British nor New England vendors are the parties to raise the question of title, or, indeed, to have much to say of the bad social economy that the purchase of the slaves brought with it. But the whole argument, when sifted, will be found to be a mere "refuge of lies," behind which those would give their conscience shelter who shudder to stand out boldly with such as directly impeach the ethical perfection of the Scriptures.

It is probably the difficulty of maintaining either of these two propositions—the first, because of too much conscience; the second, for want of logical solidity—that has driven Christian men, whose reverence for the Scriptures is yet unimpaired, to adopt the third proposition, and assert that the slavery recognized in the Bible was in principle different, and, ethically, contrary to the present system in the Southern States—that, therefore, they may consistently enough admit the ethical propriety of the former, while denouncing the latter as wicked.

Now, in regard to the Mosaic, as compared with the American code, since that may be tested by the ordinary reader of the Bible for himself, after what has been already said in the foregoing discourse and notes, nothing more need be said here. But in regard to the system of slavery, under which our Saviour and His Apostles preached the gospel, and which they tolerated in their Church, it may be important to give the ordinary reader a more distinct impression than can be gathered directly from the New Testament records. Besides, as this is the last refuge of defence to that small section of anti-slaveryism which reverences the Scriptures, and therefore is a point upon which the people are assiduously led astray, the author has made some examination of this point with a view to ascertain, if possible, not only the general principles of the Roman slave code, as gathered into the revised code of the empire, from the enactments of the previous one thousand years, by the lawyers of Justinian, A. D. 530, but also the actual current slavery enactments cotemporary with the preaching of Jesus and His Apostles. Fortunately, he has been enabled to consult the recent very remarkable work of the German jurist, Haenel, entitled, "Corpus Legum ab Imperatoribus Romanis latarum." In this work are collected, with amazing labor—from jurists, historians, philosophers, poets, critics, Greek and Latin—all that is extant concerning the legal enactments and decisions, on all subjects, of the emperors, from Augustus Cæsar forward. Here, arranged according to the year, are legal enactments and decisions on all sorts of subjects, by the emperors and senators cotemporary with Jesus and the Apostles; and from the same pages which record the legal enactments referred to in the New Testament—as the taxing and census of the empire, by "decree of Cæsar Augustus;" the arrangements of the provinces under Archelaus and Herod; the re-arrangement under Pilate, Agrippa, Felix; the proscriptions and restorations to favor of the Jewish religion, &c., &c.,—one is enabled to gather constantly recurring enactments modifying, limiting, interpreting the slave code of the empire. So that here the author had the living spirit of the slave system under which Christ and the Apostles preached, to compare with the living spirit of the slave code under which he has, during all his ministry, preached the gospel.

For the information of plain English readers of the New Testament, the following summary is presented of the slave code, and its spirit, under which the Saviour and his Apostles lived and preached, gathered, first, from the general summary views of the ancient laws of the Roman empire in the code of Justinian, and secondly, from Haenel, the actual enactments on the subject during the first sixty-eight years of the Christian era.

It is necessary to premise, however, in order to enable the reader to understand the citations, that the following were among

the very peculiar features of the Roman political and civil law. First, that until an age subsequent to the Apostles, and indeed until the privileges of Roman citizenship ceased to be regarded as of any value, the Roman citizenship was a membership in a curious political close corporation, guarded as jealously as modern privileges of nobility, and its privileges conferred only by some form of public act. Secondly, that the citizen's children were held as his property, becoming free citizens only by his death or by formal act of emancipation--his wife bearing legally the same status as his daughter. Thirdly, that theoretically every citizen at his death must by his testament leave some one as his "heir" to represent his "*persona*" in the civil society. Hence he usually named several persons to be his "heir," each following one to become such, in case of the refusal of his predecessor, and naming at last one of his slaves to be what was called his "haeres necessarius," or necessary heir, who, in case the heirship was refused, by reason of his insolvency or other cause, should sell out the estate for the benefit of creditors in his own name, to save disgrace to the name of his master. Hence this frequent allusion to slaves as "heir" in the classics. Fourthly, that the spirit of the Roman law was utterly averse to the acting of one freeman as attorney for another. Hence the son or the slave of the citizen usually acted for him in every business transaction to which he could not give personal attention.

Some of the general principles of the slave code as it existed for a thousand years previously are thus set forth in the Justinian code:

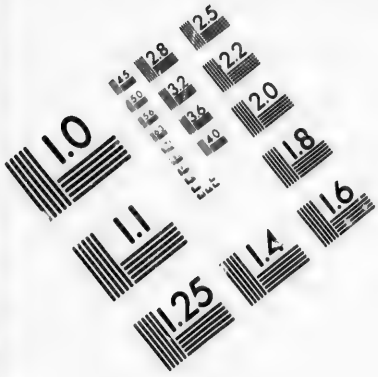
"Slavery is an institution of the law of nations, by which one man is made the property of another, contrary to natural right (natural law having before been defined as 'that law which nature teaches to all animals'—such as matrimonial union, the rearing of children,'&c.).

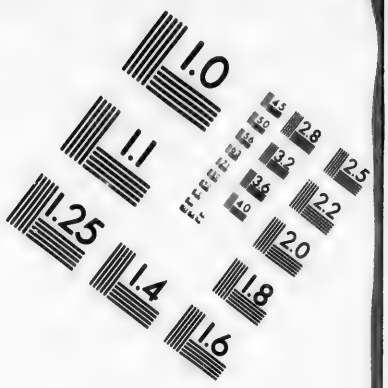
"Slaves are called *servi* because commanders used, rather than *kill* their captives, to *sell* them, and thereby (*servare*) to *preserve* them.

"Slaves are either born or become such. Born such from mothers which are our bond-maids. They become such by captivity, or by the civil law. (Just. Inst. Lib. 1, Tit. 3: 2, 3, 4.)

"It is not the privilege of every master to manumit as he pleases, for a manumission in defraud of creditors is void.

"A master who is insolvent, however, may by his last will and testament institute a slave to be heir, with his liberty, so that, as a freeman, he may become his 'only and necessary heir,' in case there is no other heir appointed in his will, or because the person appointed from any cause does not become his heir—that he may satisfy the creditors, or if not, that the creditors might sell the goods of the estate in *the name of the slave, so as to prevent the deceased suffering disgrace.* (Just. Inst. Lib. 1, Tit. 6: 1.)





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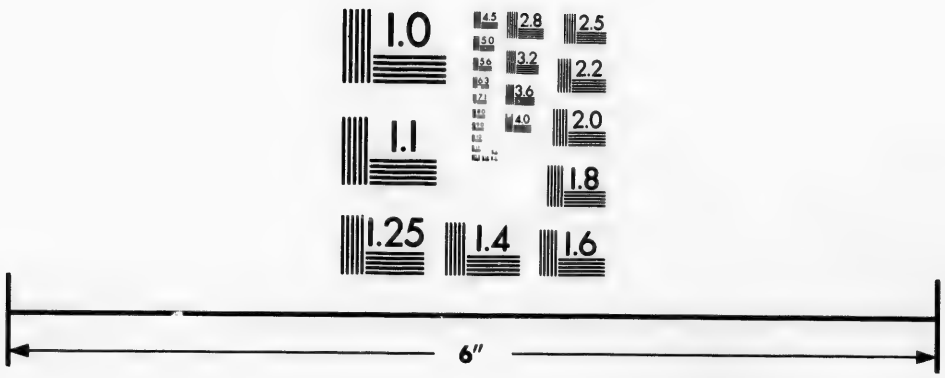

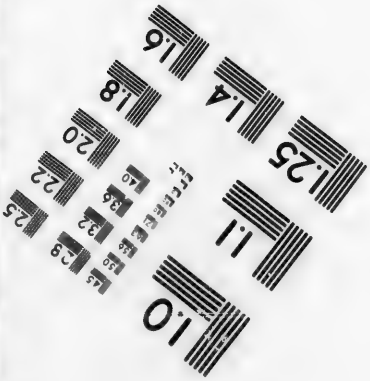

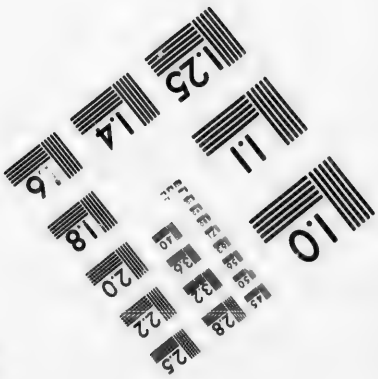

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"Slaves are in the power of masters, which power is derived from the law of nations; for, among all nations, we may observe how power of life and death over slaves has been vested in masters; and everything acquired by the slave is acquired for his master.

"But, at the present day, none of our subjects may use unrestricted violence toward their slaves, &c. (Just. Inst. Lib. 1, Tit. 8: 1-2.)

"A slave derives from the *persona* of his master the power of making a stipulation.

"Whether a slave stipulate for his master, or for himself, or for his fellow slave, or without naming any person, *he always acquires for his master.* It is the same with children in the power of their father, in all cases in which they acquire for him. (Just. Inst. Lib. 3, Tit. 17.)

"For the slave who is in the power of any one, cannot, of himself, have anything as of his own. (Inst. Just. Lib. 2, Tit. 9: 3.)

"The power which we have over our children is peculiar to Roman citizens.

"The child born to you and your wife is in your power; and so likewise, the child born of your son, &c. (Just. Inst. Lib. 1, Tit. 9.)

"Children cease to be under the power of their parent *by emancipation.* Formerly, this was done by imaginary sales, &c. (Just. Inst. Lib. 1, Tit. 12.)

Such, then, were some of the points in the theory of the Roman slave code. Turning now to the collections of Haenel, we find the following enactments and decisions, under that system, as part of the *living law*, cotemporary with Christ and his apostles.

In the fourth year after the birth of Christ, the senate enacted the *Lex Aelia Sentia*, which contained the following provisions:

1. "That no citizen should emancipate slaves in fraud of creditors, and the emancipation of an insolvent is void, except in the case of his 'necessary heir.'

2. "That no master under twenty years of age should emancipate, except by judgment of the *Consilium* (composed of five senators and as many knights at Rome, or twenty *recuperatores* in the provinces) that he had legitimate reason for emancipating—as, that the slave was his former tutor, nurse, &c., or a maid-servant to be married within six months.

3. "Nor should any slave under thirty years of age be emancipated by any one, except upon the judgment of the Consilium.

4. "That a slave who, by reason of crimes, had been put in chains by his master, or branded with any disgraceful mark, should, if afterward emancipated, be put upon the lowest grade of freedmen, having merely personal freedom from the master till death, when the property of this freedman should revert to his master.

In the year A. D. 8, the *Lex Furia Caninia* was enacted, "restricting the power of emancipating, by last will and testament, to one half of his slaves, if a man had from two to ten; one third, if from ten to thirty; one fourth, if from thirty to one hundred; and one fifth, if from one hundred to five hundred; but in no case to emancipate more than one hundred."

In the year A. D. 9 was enacted the *Lex Papia Poppæa*, "sanctioning the marriage of any one below senatorial rank with a freedwoman."

In the year A. D. 18 was enacted the *Lex Lunia Norbana*, "enlarging the privileges of the lower class of the emancipated, allowing them to trade and marry with Romans or *Latins;* but leaving them still incompetent to devise property, and still securing their property to their master, at their death."

In the 34th year of Christ, the year before Paul's conversion, Tiberius Cæsar decided the celebrated case in equity, which affirmed the principle that when a testator, by mistake, thought a slave free, and instituted him his heir, naming another slave as his "necessary heir," and the masters of both slaves claimed the estate, it should be divided between them.

In A. D. 40, the year of the conversion of Cornelius the centurion, under the Emperor Caligula, it was enacted that slaves privy to high crime on the part of their masters, might become informants against them.

In A. D. 42, it was enacted "that the children of a manumittor, not expressly disinherited, should take the estate of an emancipated slave of the class of '*Latins*,' in preference to any stranger whom the manumittor may have made his heir."

In A. D. 46, the year of Paul's preaching at Antioch and Lystra, it was enacted that "a patron who had manumitted a slave, may assign the right to inherit the slave's property to any one of the manumittor's children, thereby really substituting his child as patron of the freedman, and recognizing the fact that the contingent interest in an emancipated slave's property was a property that could be devised."

In A. D. 47 was enacted the edict of Claudius that "sick slaves, neglected by their masters, should become free, in case of recovery from sickness."

Also, "that the Roman freeborn woman, cohabiting with a slave, should, on prosecution of the slave's master, be reduced also to the condition of his slave."

In A. D. 57, the year in which Paul resolved on a journey to Rome, it was enacted that, "in case of the murder of a master by his slaves, even those slaves who were found to have been manumitted by his will, should be held liable to suffer with his other slaves."

Also, "that, in case a slave, after purchase, became liable to

punishment for crime, the vendor should pay back his price to the purchaser, that the senate may not seem to have done wrong to the purchaser."

In A. D. 68, among the Emperor Galba's reforms of the abuses under Nero, was the edict that "slaves who, in Nero's time, had treated their masters injuriously, should be delivered up to their masters for punishment."

This review covers the whole period from the birth of our Saviour to the death of the Apostle Paul. It is presumed that in view of all these citations, no one will dare assert that the system of slavery which, it has been shown, was tolerated by the Saviour, and in the Apostolic Church, was essentially different from, and especially more in accordance with, ethical right, than the modern system of the Southern States. It was *after the era* of the Apostles, under the Emperors Hadrian (A. D. 138), Antoninus Pius (A. D. 155), and Justinian (A. D. 525), that those ameliorations of the code and restrictions of the rights of masters occurred, which have been borrowed from the Justinian code by the modern slave codes. And what is remarkable and most significant to the American statesman of this day is, that cotemporaneously with the general admission of emancipated slaves, of all grades, to the privileges of Roman citizenship, was the general indifference and contempt for that privilege, which for a thousand years had been held precious, and which, even so late as the Apostle Paul's day, was deemed an inestimable boon. "They have beaten us openly, being Romans," was the significant statement which caused these persecutors to tremble.

In the comparative view of the three codes, in a previous brief note, the author could speak only from general personal knowledge of the American slave codes. That statement, however, was subsequently submitted, first, to one of the most eminent lawyers of a slave-holding State, who affirmed that it was far within the true limits in stating the "personal" rights of the slave, which, saving the right of the master to restrain him, are the same as a freeman; and afterward was submitted to a Judge of the Supreme Court of a slave-holding State, from whose answer the author takes the liberty of making the following extract:

——, March 11th, 1856.

"In regard to the American Code respecting the personal rights of slaves in the Southern States, your note says it agrees with the Mosaic in treating the murder of a slave the same as any other murder, and with the Justinian, in causing the slave of a cruel master to be *sold* to another master, and in making cruelty to slaves an indictable offence.

"The law of Kentucky is accurately stated, except in reference to the *sale* of a slave because of cruelty by the owner. In such cases, the slave

is taken from the cruel master, by order of some court of competent jurisdiction, and hired to another person in the same county; and such person is required to give bond, not only for the value of the service, but also for the humane treatment of the slave, and that he will not permit the owner to have him, without leave of the court. This inaccuracy is, however, too slight to deserve notice, for, in point of law, the slave *during the term of hire*, is the property of the hirer, who is, for the period, a purchaser. What is said in your note in regard to the appointment of counsel for slaves suing for freedom in our courts, is every word true. And you might have added that the same protection is extended to them in felonies and other offences, that the highest citizen receives. This rule is universal throughout the South. Indeed it has been said by eminent Judges in the South, and by the profession elsewhere, that slaves stand far better chance for exemption from punishment for crime, in the slave States, than white men.

"A slave who had poisoned her mistress, a few years ago, received *three* new trials in the Supreme Court of Kentucky, because of technical errors committed by the Judge. The prosecution said it was impossible to hang her, unless the circuit judge would die or resign, or the law giving a right of appeal in such cases was abolished.

"The cases from Alabama, and the Carolinas, Georgia, &c., show the most remarkable indulgence to slaves charged with killing their masters; and establishing the principle that a slave has a right to slay his own master to protect his life. All these cases are to be found in Wharton's Criminal Law of America, a book published in Philadelphia, by an eminent lawyer, and equally prominent as a fanatic in politics."

With his statement of facts, illustrative of the general principles and spirit of the modern as compared with that Roman slave code tolerated in the New Testament Church, the author is content to leave this subterfuge of admitting the ethical propriety of the New Testament slavery, and yet denouncing as the "sum of all villanies" the American slavery, to the candid judgment of conscientious men. That the system now denounced is even more humane in spirit, more protective of the "personal" rights of the slave, more restrictive of the power of the master, less liable to abuse, and actually far less abused, than that which Apostles bore with and enjoined cheerful submission to, no man but an ignorant and reckless charlatan, or an intentional deceiver of the people, will venture to deny. How, then, is it possible to indorse the teachings and practices of the anti-slavery philanthropism, and maintain long an humble reverence for the Divine authority of the Scriptures, which teach us an ethics diametrically the contrary, and enjoin directly the contrary practice?

It may be asked now, why have not these views of Scripture and these arguments been more pressed upon public attention before—while the public opinion was forming—to mould it properly, and not now, when the general judgment is made up? The

answer is very easy. These views and arguments were urged; and the inevitable consequences of the anti-slavery movement, in bringing the church to the verge of utter apostasy, as well as the state to the verge of utter ruin, were pressed long ago. But then the force of them could not be appreciated by the people, because the reasonings must be so purely abstract and the consequences deduced from them seemingly such mere conjectural forebodings of evil, that the people would not accept them as practical truths. What is actual, in the way of danger, alone can impress the multitude. The fatal errors cannot be appreciated till their terrible results are worked out. "Truth seen too late" has ever been the curse of the church and the world. Just as the naturalists tell us of the formation of those coral reefs in the depths of the ocean by the countless myriads of insect creatures, whose work is going on silently and far out of sight beneath the surface, as mighty vessels sail over and over the accustomed highway; but slowly and surely the submerged wall rises toward the surface, unobserved and uncared for by the navigators, till some noble vessel, richly freighted, dashing through stormy billows, strikes, and perishes upon its rugged top. So error works, once its foundations are laid in the depths of society. Slowly but surely the millions of infected minds work far below the surface; nor can the world be made to comprehend its nature and its danger by mere abstract reasoning about it, till reaching near the surface, when, in some social and political tempest, the church, social institutions, political systems are dashed upon it, to be stranded or wrecked. The people have felt the shocks, and are beginning to awake to the actual dangers, from the anti-slavery error. The "abstractionists" are now perceived to have been the most practical of men. The people now can comprehend the danger, and may now listen to the calm counsels of the Divine word. Peradventure, they may yet be saved from the impending ruin. Now, therefore, is the time for good men to pray that God give us not over in His anger; now too, while good men pray, let those who have made the oracles of God their guide and their study, instead of the "glittering generalities" of modern "illuminati," speak to the people the word of truth and soberness, and with God's blessing they may return from their backsliding, and be healed.*

* Since this concluding note was written, the author has met with the elaborate volume of Thomas R. R. Cobb, Esq., of Georgia, "On the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States," which, as a carefully prepared law volume, is, beyond all question, thoroughly reliable as to its statements of what the Southern slave code actually now is in fact. From this volume, as confirmatory of what he has said of the principles of the Southern codes on this subject, and as principles to compare with the Mosaic and the Roman codes, the following views and statements are submitted for the information of candid readers:

"The law of nature, denying the power over life and limb, being part of the law of every civilized state, such power never existed in any of the United States,

although it required municipal law to prescribe the punishment for such offences.

"In the Roman law a slave was a mere chattel. He was not recognized as a person. But the negro slave in America, protected, as above stated, by municipal law, occupies *the double character of a person* and *a property*. Having now ascertained who are, and may be, slaves in America, a natural conclusion of our subject suggests itself in considering the subject, first, AS A PERSON, and then AS A PROPERTY.

"Of the three great absolute rights guaranteed to every citizen by the common law—viz., the right of personal security, the right of personal liberty, and the right of private property—the slave, in a state of *pure, absolute slavery* (to which system of pure and absolute slavery in Africa we have traced the origin of negro slavery), is wholly deprived, being, as to life, liberty and property, under the absolute, uncontrolled dominion of the master. . . . . As before remarked, however, no such state of slavery exists in these States. And so modified is the slavery here, partly by natural law, partly by express enactment, and more effectually by the influence of civilization and Christian enlightenment, that it is frequently difficult to trace to any purely legal source many of those protecting barriers, the denial of whose existence would shock an enlightened public sense.'

"Statute law has done much to relieve the slave from the absolute dominion, and the master from the perilous power, more especially as regards the first great right of personal security. In all the slave-holding States, the homicide of a slave is held to be murder, and in most of them has been so expressly declared by law. (See Rev. Code N. Car. 192. Statutes at Large S. Car. vol. 6, p. 158. New Digest (Cobb) Geo. 785, 792. Laws of Alabama (1823), p. 639. Hutchinson's Code of Mississippi, 519. Civil Code of Louisiana, Art. 192. Rev. Code of Missouri, chap. 47, sec. 8. Laws of Tennessee (Caruthers & Nicholas), 676. Laws of Texas, (Hartley), 76. Statutes of Arkansas (1848), 48.)

"In Georgia, Alabama, Texas, and Arkansas, the provisions for the protection of the person of the slave are inserted *in their respective constitutions*, thus making it a part of the fundamental law, and beyond the reach of ordinary legislation.

"The law will not sanction any wanton violation of the person of the slave.

"If the life and limb of the slave is endangered, he may use sufficient force to protect and defend himself, even if in so doing he kills the aggressor.

"If the passions of the slave be excited into unlawful violence by the inhumanity of his master or others, it will extenuate the offence; and if a homicide is committed, the court will hold those circumstances as a rebuttal of the presumption of malice.

"When a slave is killed, the presumption of the law is the same as in other cases, that it was done maliciously." Cobb on the Law of Slavery, chap. 4, § 84-102.

"On account of the perfectly helpless condition of the slave when the master is placed in opposition to him, ... the courts should, and do feel themselves to be his guardian and protector, and will provide for the defence of his rights as for a ward of the court. Hence, in some of the States, by statute the court is required to assign him counsel learned in the law (see Const. Arkansas, Art. 4, § 25; Missouri, Art. 8, § 27; Rev. Stat. N. Car. 583; Rev. Code Va. 787); and in others the very penalty affixed for cruel treatment by the master is the emancipation of the slave (Civ. Code Louisiana, 192). In others the penalty is, in part, the sale of the slave." Cobb, Law of Slavery, chap. 5, § 104-105.

"A fair trial by jury is, in all grave cases, granted by the statutes of every state.

"So also that principle of law which protects the citizen from being charged twice criminally with the same offence throws its shield over the slave. § 311.

"Capital offences are in most of the states tried before the highest county court, and every guard thrown around the citizen, to protect his innocence, is thrown around the slave." § 310.

These citations from the elaborate work of a Southern lawyer, who made this branch of law a special study, evince, abundantly, the principles and spirit of the American slave code. The reader need only compare these principles with those above cited from the Mosaic and Roman codes, to see how absurd the subterfuge of pretending to admit the ethical rectitude of the toleration by inspired men of the Mosaic and the Roman system of slavery, and at the same time to denounce the ethical unrighteousness of the American system. It is manifest that the whole spirit of the latter is favorable to any and every enlargement of the slave's per

sonal rights, and restriction of the master's rights of property, that is at all consistent with the existence of the system itself. In common with the Mosaic and the Roman code, it constitutes the slave the property of his master, and in that view a *chattel;* while in advance of both the Mosaic and the Roman code in recognizing the slave's personal rights as a man, it restricts the power of the master within the narrowest limits possible to any relation as master and slave at all.

It is plain, therefore, that to denounce the toleration of the slavery system of the Southern States as an ethical unrighteousness, is to denounce the toleration of slavery under the Mosaic and Roman systems as an ethical unrighteousness, and thereby to deny the ethical perfection, and consequently the inspiration, of the Scriptures.